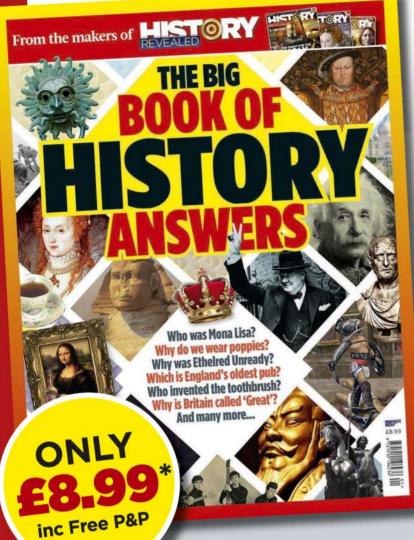


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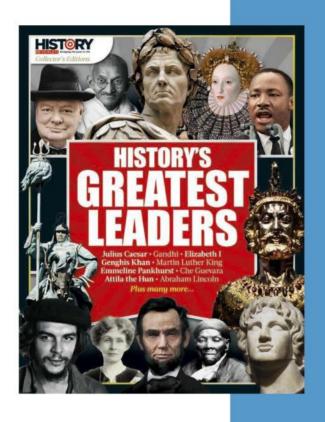
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# Welcome



Looking back through history, the men and women who have made the most impact are very often the most-effective leaders – those legendary characters who, rightly or wrongly, have rallied their people to

#### further a cause.

What makes a leader great, of course, is a matter of opinion. To be a great leader doesn't mean we have to **agree with what they did**, after all! Our selection includes some of **history's biggest villains**, as well as many of its **finest heroes**. The one thing they all have in common is their ability to lead. I'm sure you'll have your own ideas about **which ones we got right and wrong**!

Regardless, I'm sure you'll agree their stories are all remarkable – and don't forget you can read about **more** great characters from the past **every month in** *History Revealed* magazine.

Paul McGuinness
editor@historyrevealed.com

HISTORY

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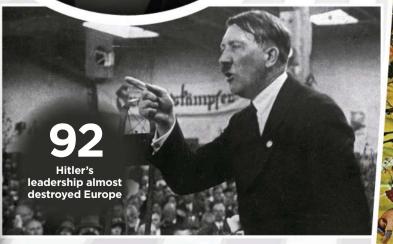




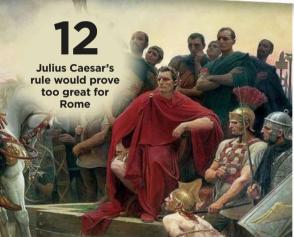


60 'Old Abe' refused to see his country divided











greatest empire builder?

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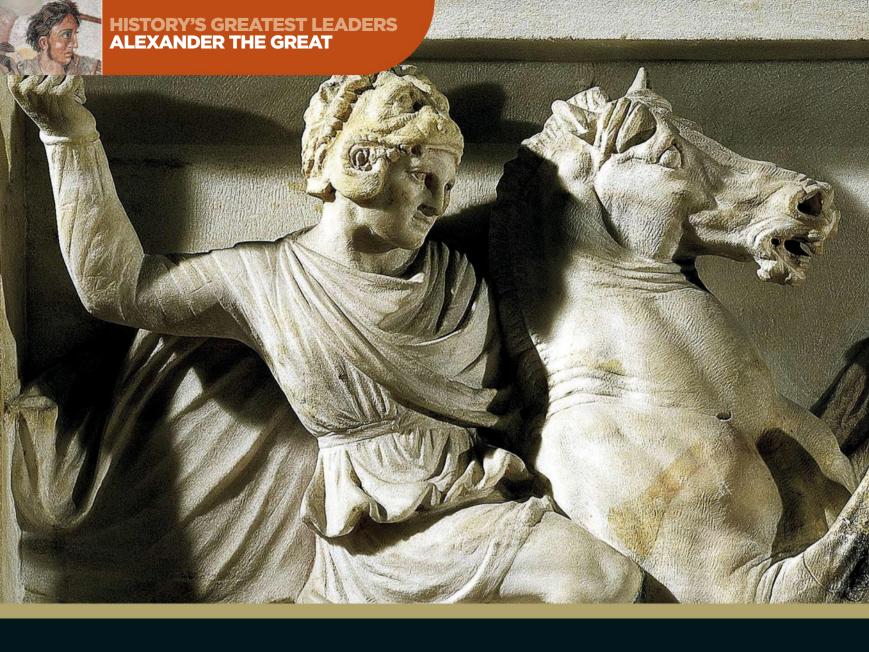
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SUBSCRIPTION 40



# ALEXANDER THE GREAT THE EMPIRE BUILDER

How did a young king from Macedon inspire his modest army to conquer a domain that spanned the ancient world? **Jeremy Pound** reveals the secrets behind the man – and his downfall







hen, on 1 October
331 BC, Alexander III
of Macedon faced
the massed Persian
forces of Darius III
at Gaugamela,

the outcome should have been a foregone conclusion. Comprising 34,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, Alexander's Greek army was by no means small – but Darius commanded a mighty cavalry numbering 34,000 and, it is reckoned, more than 200,000 infantry. What's more, the hot and dusty plain – in what is now northern Iraq – was home turf for the Persians. Alexander's men, in contrast, had been on the march for over three years and were over a thousand miles from home.

In fact, the battle was indeed a rout – but not in the expected way. It was the Persians who were crushed, not the numerically inferior Greeks. We will never know the exact figures, but it's believed that around 50,000 Persians were killed in the battle, compared with just 1,000 or so Greeks. With his vast forces in disarray, Darius fled. He survived – for now –

but his reign was effectively finished, as was the once-great Persian Empire, which had stretched from Libya in the west to the Indus Valley in the east. The way now lay open for Alexander to press on eastwards and establish his own empire. At just 25, he was the most powerful man in the world – the Great, indeed.

Brilliant military tactician, savvy politician, courageous and accomplished fighter – in terms of leadership skills, Alexander had the lot. Nor did it hurt to be the son of a king who had already set in motion the most significant shift in power in Greek history. Alexander was born in July 356 BC to King Philip II of Macedon – by all accounts a thoroughly unpleasant man, but

also a mightily effective leader. In the space of just a few years, Philip transformed his state from a small, peripheral kingdom in northern Greece into an unstoppable war machine. In 339 BC, he won a crushing victory over Athens and its allies at Chaeronea, ensuring that Macedon effectively ruled all Greece.

#### LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON

which Philip II transformed Macedon from a

into the most militarily powerful state in the

Balkans was quite staggering.

region populated by a rabble of disparate tribes

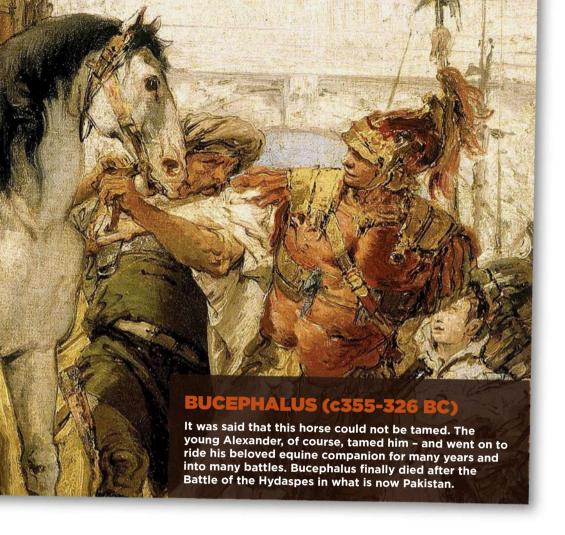
Alexander won his spurs fighting alongside his father, earning plaudits for his bravery at Chaeronea, but would himself soon have the opportunity to rule. Suspiciously soon, in fact – it's been suggested by some historians that Alexander might have been behind the assassination of Philip II in 336 BC, killed by one of his own bodyguards at a family wedding.

By fair means or foul, at the age of 20, Alexander III became ruler of Greece – and the ruthlessness he displayed in cementing that position bore all the hallmarks of his father. He put down unrest in the north of his kingdom with brutal speed and, when Thebes rashly declared independence from Macedonia, his reprisal was savage: the city was burnt to the ground, its people either slaughtered or sold into slavery.

### ALEXANDER THE GREAT, WRITING TO KING DARIUS III OF PERSIA

" I have been appointed leader of the Greeks, and wanting to punish the Persians I have come to Asia, which I took from you."





But Alexander was not merely ruthless. He was also bright enough to know that brute force alone would not keep the diverse collection of states under his power in check. If his study of history had taught him anything - and, with the philosopher and scientist Aristotle as his teacher, he would certainly have been well schooled - it would have been that nothing unites states and their people more than having a reviled common enemy. In 490 BC and 480 BC, the Greeks, who had been fighting among themselves, had joined forces to repel invasions by the Persians under Darius I and Xerxes I.

Now, a century and a half later, Alexander saw an opportunity to turn the tables, and planned a united Greek invasion of Persia.

The expedition that began in spring

334 BC, when Alexander's forces set off from the Greek mainland, would change the course of history. It was not just his military victories against the odds that defy belief, but also his achievements in overcoming daunting geographical obstacles - from vast African deserts to the precipitous mountain trails of the Hindu Kush in the western Himalaya - in a journey that would eventually cover about 20,000 miles over the course of 11 years.

The initial impetus and rallying call for the expedition may have been that long-held grudge against the Persians, but Alexander also had

an ulterior motive: he was determined to reach the end of the Earth and the great ocean that

#### **GRAND TOUR**

Alexander's all-conquering tour began when he crossed into Asia Minor (Anatolia, today part of Turkey) before heading down the eastern Mediterranean coast through Syria into Egypt, looping back towards the Red Sea then continuing eastward through Assyria - where

he believed lay beyond. Certainly, no one could accuse him of a lack of ambition.

#### MAN BEHIND THE MYTH **CHARACTER OF** A CONQUEROR

As with many figures from ancient history, descriptions of Alexander's character are prone to exaggeration and elaboration. We know that he came from Macedon, an area that stretched across the northern part of modern Greece and into neighbouring Balkan lands. The Macedonians were largely regarded by the southern Greek states as uncouth and uneducated, but with Aristotle as his personal tutor, Alexander's own education would have been second to none. He was, by all accounts, nothing special to look at - short, curly-haired and bug-eyed but made up for it with boundless charisma. His speed of thought was exceptional, especially in the heat of battle. And though he could be ruthless, there are also tales of him sparing, and even rewarding, those enemies who impressed him. As for his love life, we know that he had two children with his first wife, beautiful Roxana, and also married Darius's daughter Stateira. But he may have reserved his fondest affections for his friend Hephaestion - some historians have speculated that they were lovers, though there's no hard evidence.

galore were founded en route, from Alexandria in Egypt (today, the country's second biggest city) to Alexandria Eschate ('Alexandria the Farthest') in Tajikistan and Alexandria Bucephalus, named for the Macedonian's beloved horse, in what's now the Pakistani Punjab.

Not everyone met Alexander's army with stern resistance. Many welcomed their

> conqueror with open arms and, often, lavish gifts. All, however, soon became part of an empire of unprecedented scope – covering over two million square miles, it linked East with West for the

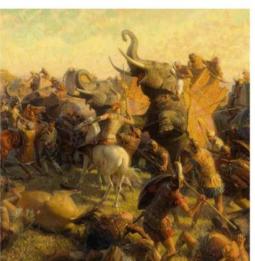
first time in history. Enclaves of Greek culture persist in remote areas of the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent even today, legacies of the Macedonian's exploits over two millennia ago. No figure from ancient history continues to loom so large in the literature and culture of so many different peoples - in many he is deified, in many others he is utterly reviled.

But how did he do it? How did Alexander inspire and maintain allegiance and endurance in his troops as he led them on an expedition that, at times, must have seemed not just ambitious but downright deluded?

#### "Alexander was determined to reach the end of the Earth and the great ocean beyond"

he triumphed at Gaugamela - Mesopotamia, Persia and Bactria, and through the Hindu Kush to the Indus River. If those ancient names seem unfamiliar, look in a modern atlas and tally the list of countries his army traversed to get an idea of the enormity of the achievement: Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, India.

Alexander's forces triumphed in a succession of major battles, not all of them as quick and decisive as Gaugamela. The crucial Mediterranean port city of Tyre (now in Lebanon) was conquered only after a siege that lasted seven months. Cities



**IISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS** 

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

#### **HINDU KUSH**

Mountains were no obstacles to Alexander's army. The Hindu Kush, a 500-mile-long range in the western Himalaya with peaks soaring over 7,000m, was just one of a number of extreme geographical challenges that they overcame on their expedition.

Providing the military brains behind unlikely victories such as that at Gaugamela helped everyone likes to be on the side of a winner, particularly one who is seemingly invincible. Nor was Alexander the sort of general to monitor success from afar. Various sources depict him fighting courageously on the frontline.

Alexander knew all about the effectiveness of what today is dubbed 'shock and awe'. The shock was simple enough - if you crossed him, he was merciless. Alexander's path across Asia was a bloody one, strewn with the bodies not just of enemies but also of former friends whom he came to mistrust, and even the likes of doctors and priests whom he believed had let him down. The awe, meanwhile, came from creating an aura of one directed from above, encouraging the belief that his rise towards global domination was preordained.

To that end, he employed tactics designed to convince all around him of his credentials. The Greeks were a suspicious and religious bunch, so Alexander made a point of consulting oracles - which would inevitably confirm that his actions enjoyed divine approval; he even undertook a perilous eight-day trek across the desert to the oracle at Siwa in Egypt. And Alexander's propagandist Callisthenes was invariably there to elaborate, enhance and disseminate the news far and wide. Much of the success of the Alexander 'myth' is down to the handiwork of Callisthenes - an exceptional spin doctor - from the famous account of loosening the Gordian Knot (see box, opposite) to the touching tales of Alexander's bond with Bucephalus. Many people were led to believe that Alexander was, indeed, a god.

The showpiece city of Babylon, complete with

its hanging gardens and the magnificent palace

of Nebuchadnezzar II, was the pride and joy

of the Persian Empire. It became Alexander's

of his own. It was here, in Nebuchadnezzar's

palace, that he died in 323 BC.

de facto capital when that empire became part

#### **END OF THE ROAD**

BABYLON

Eventually, though, even the most successful conqueror meets his nemesis. Alexander's came in the form of the River Ganges. By 326 BC, long years on the road and battle losses - not to mention tropical diseases and venomous snakes - had taken their toll on his troops.

Faced with the prospect of crossing a threemile-wide torrent, only to face more of the same tribulations on the other side. Alexander's army refused. The great adventure was over. The return journey from the subcontinent was

not pretty. The weary Greeks saw their numbers depleted first by flash floods and then, cruelly, a horrendous drought. As for their leader, his once razor-sharp mind became increasingly erratic. He drank more: 24-hour binges became a familiar part of his routine - followed, of course, by a couple of days of hangover. Unsurprisingly, plots against him began to simmer.

In autumn 324 BC, Alexander's closest companion (and, some claim, lover) Hephaestion died - possibly of typhus fever or typhoid exacerbated by heavy alcohol consumption. Devastated, Alexander declined rapidly. He reached Babylon in spring 323 BC, and in June took to his sick bed. His condition worsened and within days he was dead, aged just 32. Was it a fever that killed him, or had his liver simply given up? Perhaps he was poisoned? He was, after all, not short of enemies.

Alexander the Great never made it home to Macedon. But then he never intended to. As the greatest military leader in ancient history, he left a monumental legacy: his vast Asian empire. •

PLUTARCH (AD c46-120), GREEK HISTORIAN AND BIOGRAPHER "Alexander exposed his person to danger in this manner ... inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions"

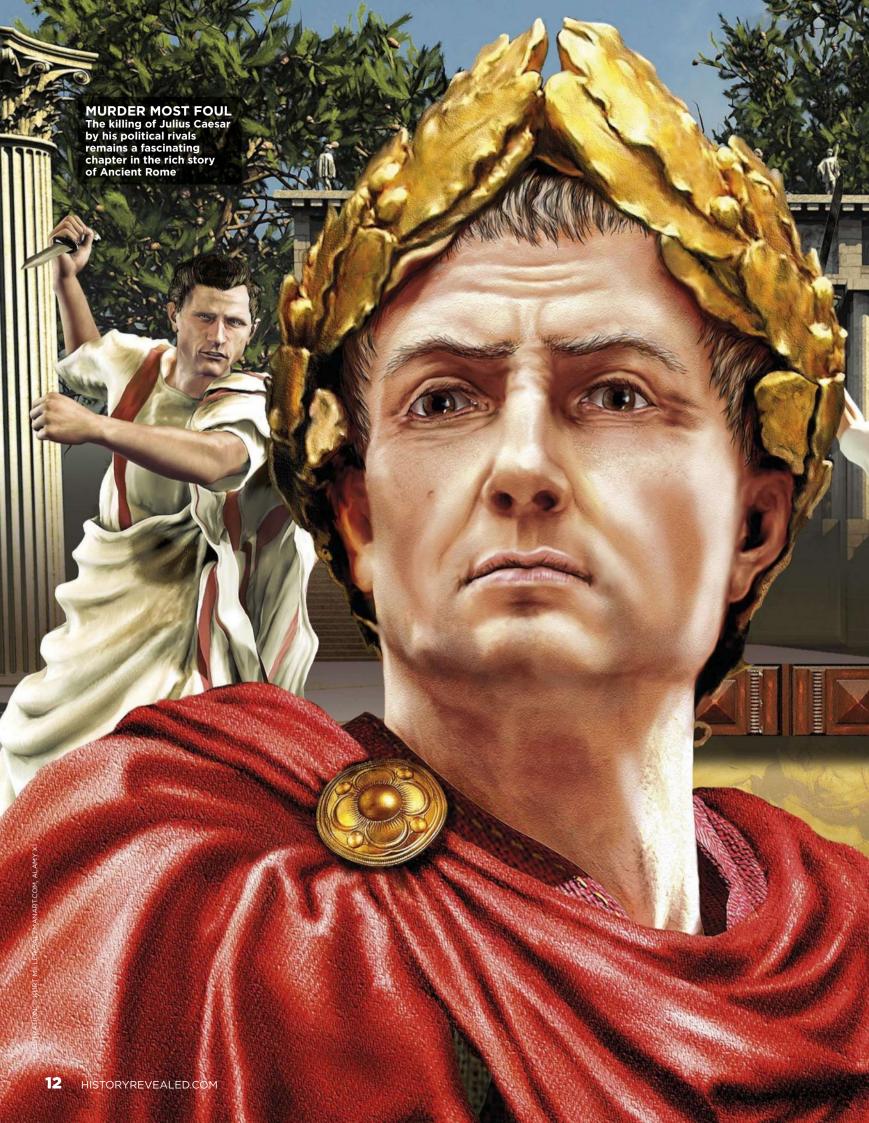


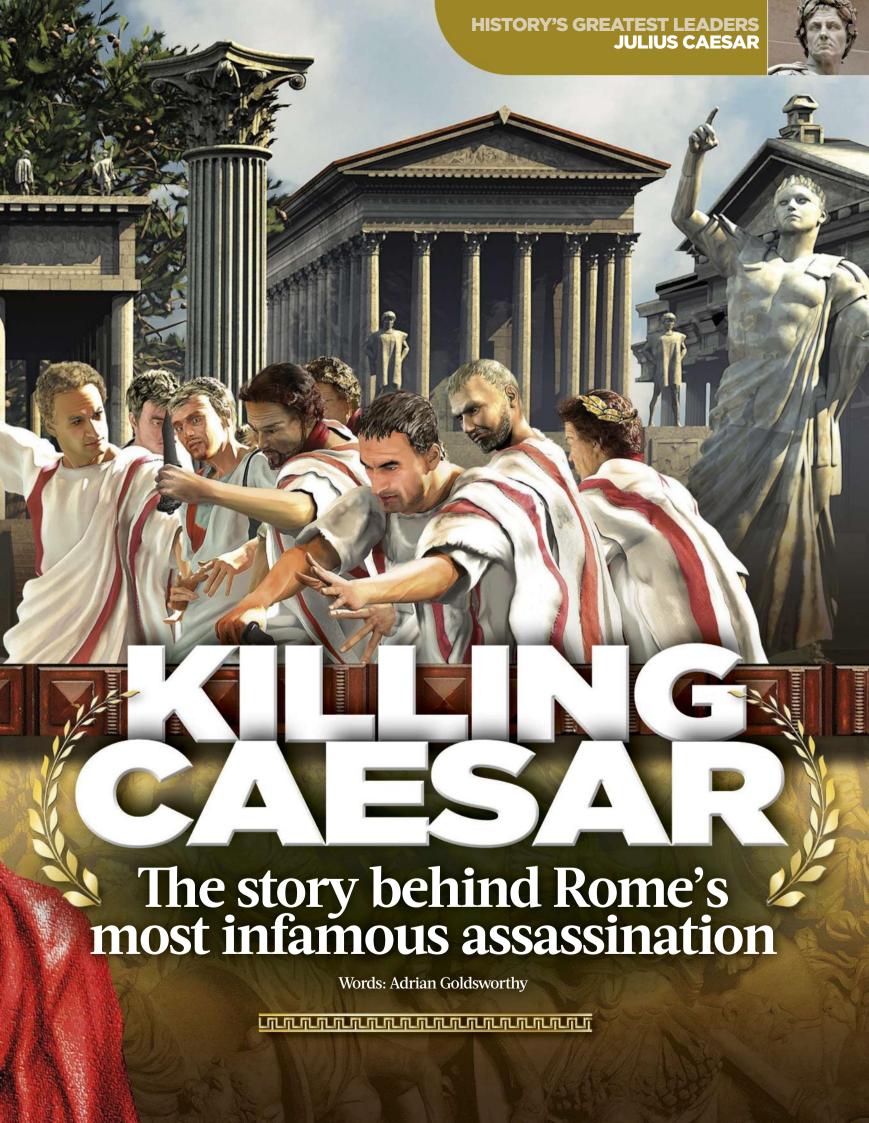


#### **FI WHAT DO YOU THINK?**

Did Alexander truly deserve the sobriquet 'the Great'? Email: editor@historyrevealed.com









t tu Brute? Then
fall Caesar!"
Julius Caesar
utters these final
words less than
halfway through

Shakespeare's play which, in spite of its name, is more concerned with the tragic hero, Brutus. The playwright was confident that he did not need to translate the three Latin words; even today, this is one of a handful of Latin phrases most people know.

The scene, where the greatest and most powerful man in Rome is repeatedly stabbed during a meeting of the Senate – killed by conspirators whose leader likes Caesar personally but feels that he must die for the good of the state – is both spectacular and dramatic. Over the centuries it has been depicted countless times in art, on stage, in print and on screen, the latter both seriously (by Rex Harrison in *Cleopatra*) or parodied by Kenneth Williams in *Carry On Cleo*. It is just the sort of over-the-top death Hollywood loves to invent – much like in *Gladiator* where the Emperor Commodus is killed in the arena of the Colosseum rather than being strangled in the bath.

Yet, in Caesar's case, there was no need for artistic licence. He was murdered at the height of his power, in the Senate, stabbed 23 times by conspirators armed with daggers.

#### **WISE WORDS**

ABOVE: Caesar dictates his commentaries on the Gallic and civil wars ABOVE RIGHT: Sulla attacking Rome en route to becoming dictator

Many of them, including Brutus, were former friends, but they killed him anyway, and claimed that they were restoring liberty to Rome. If anything, the truth is even more complicated, filled with irony and intrigue, at times coming across as the plot of a soap opera.

#### **MURDER IN MIND**

Caesar was murdered on 15 March - the Ides of March as the Romans called it - in the year that we know as 44 BC. The city of Rome was some seven centuries old and, since 509 BC when the last king was expelled, had been a republic. The conspirators who murdered Caesar claimed that his power had brought the Republic to an end and that his death was necessary to restore it.

#### **POINT OF NO RETURN**

#### **Crossing the Rubicon**

The River Rubicon was little more than a stream, so small and obscure that we cannot even find it today. The road from Ravenna to Ariminum (modern Rimini) went across it and, in 49 BC, the river marked the boundary between Caesar's province, where he could legally command his legions, and Italy itself where his powers as governor lapsed.

On the night of 10-11 January, Caesar slipped away from a feast in Ravenna and travelled south in a mule-drawn carriage. He had already sent soldiers disguised in civilian clothes ahead of him and the Thirteenth Legion was following them.

The great general got lost in the darkness, but eventually found his way back to the main road and reached the Rubicon. For a while

THE GREAT DIVIDE
Crossing a small stream
with his troops turned
Caesar from legitimate
figure to rebel

he paused, telling his companions: "Even now we could turn back; but once we cross that tiny bridge, then everything will depend on armed force."

Once he had crossed the river at the command of even a small part of his army, he ceased to be a legal magistrate and instead became a rebel. Caesar crossed, quoting an old gambler's tag - "The dice are rolled". It was a declaration of civil war.





#### The conspirators believed the murder was necessary to restore the Republic

Republican Rome was that no one individual or group should possess permanent supreme power. To this end, Suetonius the Romans developed a complex system of checks and balances, even though, like Britain, they had no written constitution, but a patchwork of laws and precedents. The people - or, at least, male Roman citizens able to be in Rome to vote - elected all magistrates and voted on the laws brought before the popular assemblies. The Senate consisted of some 600 men drawn from former magistrates and was a permanent council, but had no

The central principle of



formal powers and was The number of times that Caesar was stabbed, according to Ancient Roman historian

merely a debating and advisory body. The most important magistrates were the two consuls who held office for just 12 months.

stand for re-election until ten years had passed. Given

No-one was allowed to

that the minimum age to stand for the consulship was 42, this effectively meant that it was very rare for anyone to be consul twice, let alone three times. During their year of office, the consuls had considerable power, but neither one could overrule his colleague.

For a long time, the system kept Rome free of the frequent revolutions that beset most ancient states, especially in the Greek world. Competition for the consulship was fierce. With 600 senators, it was impossible for more than a minority to become consuls; plus, a handful of aristocratic families dominated the office. They had reputation and the money to advertise their achievements and to buy voters, helped by the Roman fondness for electing people with names they were familiar with.

#### **BENDING THE RULES**

Rome had come to dominate the Mediterranean world by the middle of the second century BC, but the system was showing signs of strain. It now had an empire stretching from Spain to Macedonia, and many problems especially wars in distant lands - could

#### WHO WAS WHO? Cast of characters

#### **POMPEY THE GREAT**

(CNAEUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS)

He was six years older than Caesar, but began his career very young, raising a private army and backing Sulla in the first civil war. Pompey broke all the rules, but was too powerful to ignore. He did support Caesar, but later turned against him.



#### **CRASSUS**

(MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS)

A shrewd businessman and another of Sulla's supporters, he put this aside in 59 BC to work with Pompey and Caesar. He had quelled the slave rebellion of Spartacus, but was defeated and killed by the Parthians in 53 BC.



#### **CICERO**

(MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO)

The greatest orator of his day, he was also a prolific author whose speeches and letters offer a window into this age. Although he liked Caesar as an individual, he hated his politics and the fact of the dictatorship.



#### **ANTONY**

(MARCUS ANTONIUS)

One of the few aristocrats to back Caesar during the civil war. He served briefly in Gaul and the Civil War campaigns, but was more politician than soldier. Caesar chose him as his colleague in the consulship for 44 BC.



#### **CATO**

(MARCUS PORCIUS CATO THE YOUNGER) One of Caesar's bitterest opponents. He was

a skilled manipulator of senatorial procedure, including speaking until sunset, at which point the meeting had to be dismissed and no vote could be taken.



#### **BRUTUS**

(MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS)

Cato's nephew and the son of Caesar's mistress Servilia. His father was executed by Pompey, and Brutus refused ever to speak to him until he joined him to fight against Caesar in 49 BC.



#### **CASSIUS**

(CAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS)

He fought against Caesar in 49 BC, but surrendered and was treated well. His wife was Brutus's sister, but Cassius was possibly jealous of the particular favour Caesar showed to Brutus.



#### **CLEOPATRA VII**

She had been expelled by her brother when Caesar arrived in Alexandria and was smuggled into his room hidden in a laundry bag (and not a carpet), becoming his lover. Caesar fought a war restoring her to the throne of Egypt.



#### **CALPURNIA**

Caesar's third wife, but their union failed to produce any children. However, since Caesar left for Gaul within a few months of the wedding and did not see her for ten years, this is unsurprising.



#### **SERVILIA**

Cato's half-sister, the mother of Brutus and the lover of Caesar. She was highly intelligent, well-educated and ambitious. As women could neither vote nor hold office, her ambition focused on advancing her son's career; her three daughters were all married off to influential men.



not be resolved in just one year under the leadership of one consul. The rules began to be bent or broken. In 104-100 BC, Marius, Caesar's uncle by marriage, held five successive consulships; he was the only general trusted by voters to deal with the threat to Rome posed by large groups of Germanic migrants who had already massacred several Roman armies.

Marius' ambition clashed with that of the consul Sulla in 88 BC and led to civil war, with Rome being stormed three times by Roman armies in the years that followed. Marius died of a stroke and Sulla defeated all his other opponents before making himself dictator, an emergency post supposed to last for just six months. Sulla ignored the time limit and massacred and executed his enemies. For a while, the teenage Julius Caesar was a hunted fugitive pursued by Sulla's soldiers, until his mother and uncle managed to persuade the dictator to pardon him.

#### **VIOLENT SOCIETY**

The spectre of political violence hung over the Republic throughout Caesar's career. Although Sulla resigned, a coup occurred within months and the threat of more violence was ever-present. Each new election brought bribery on an ever-greater scale, along with organised intimidation of the supporters of other candidates.

Caesar, a member of an ancient but impoverished family, which had enjoyed little political success for generations, borrowed and spent money on a vast scale, staging public games and giving

# Caesar borrowed and spent money on a vast scale, giving gifts to buy support

ne number of days

in a Roman year before Caesar

gifts to buy supporters. For all that, his career was conventional and followed the rules. He was only unusual in his talent for making the headlines for his flamboyance, his scandalous love affairs with the wives of other senators, and his consistent championing of popular causes. Many Romans from outside the aristocracy began to see him as a man who had their interests at heart.

In 59 BC, he became consul, helped by an informal agreement with Pompey and Crassus. These two wealthy senators found themselves blocked by the concerted opposition of the mass of senators eager to clip their wings. Caesar gave them what they wanted, as well as passing other laws including a bill redistributing publicly owned land to poorer citizens, giving them farms and taking them off the list of people receiving free grain from the state.

This was only achieved in the face of bitter opposition led by Cato, a senator who employed every constitutional trick in the book. Few were opposed in principle but resented Caesar and his friends from gaining the credit for solving these problems faced by the state. Caesar pressed on regardless, orchestrating his supporters far more effectively in the rioting that followed. He got his way, before leaving for a provincial command and not returning for ten years. During that time, he conquered Gaul, raided Britain twice and crossed the Rhine into Germany, all the while paying off his debts and making himself rich with the spoils of victory.

After a suitable interval, Caesar wanted to return and become consul for the second time. Cato and other



# TIMELINE

How events unfolded in Caesar's Rome

Julius Caesar is born. Within months, a political dispute spils over into violence in which hundreds of citizens are killed in the heart of Rome's Forum.

Caesar wins election to Rome's highest priesthood, the pontifex maximus – a title later taken by each emperor and, subsequently, the Pope. Already heavily in debt, on the day of the election Caesar tells his mother that he would come back a victor or not at all.

Caesar is given command of an enlarged province of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria with an army of four legions. In the years to come, he conquers Gaul up to the Atlantic coast and the Rhine.

Julia, Caesar's only legitimate child and the wife of Pompey, dies giving birth to a baby who also dies a few days later. Without Julia, Caesar and Pompey's alliance slowly decays.

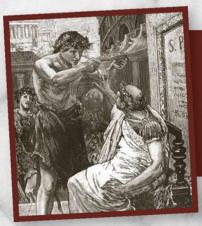


Caesar's ten-year command approaches its end.
Pompey moves closer to Caesar's critics who
wish to prevent him from keeping his army until
he can go straight into a second consulship and
so be immune from prosecution.

Caesar becomes dictator, but lays down the office and goes to Greece, where he defeats Pompey. Pompey flees to Egypt where he is murdered by Cleopatra's brother, King Ptolemy XIII.



Caesar returns for a brief visit to Rome before hurrying to fight the resurgent Pompeians in North Africa. He defeats them at Thapsus and, in the aftermath, Cato commits suicide. In Rome, Caesar is declared dictator for ten years.



In February, Caesar publicly declines the offer of a royal crown at the Lupercalia Festival. He plans to go east and fight the Parthians, appointing consuls for the next three years, but is murdered days before he is due to depart.

100 BC

88-79 BC

63 BC

59 BC

58-50 BC

55-54 BC

54 BC

53 BC

50 BC

49 BC

48 BC

47 BC

46 BC

45 BC

44 BC

44-30 BC

Civil war and Sulla's dictatorship.
Caesar's uncle Marius fights the first
civil war after his rival Sulla marches his
legions on Rome. When Sulla wins and
becomes dictator, Caesar is added to
a death-list and is forced to flee before
being reprieved.

Caesar is elected consul, supported by Crassus and Pompey. Cato and other opponents try to block his programme of legislation, which leads to rioting. Caesar forces everything through, but his opponents manage to create a sense of doubt about the legality of what he does.

Caesar leads two expeditions to the mysterious island of Britain. On both occasions, much of his fleet is wrecked by storms, threatening to trap him on the island. He escapes and, although the raids achieve little, they are greeted with euphoria back in Rome.





Crassus invades Parthia and is killed along with many of his soldiers.

Caesar crosses the Rubicon and begins the civil war. He overruns Italy quickly, but Pompey retreats with his inexperienced army to Greece. Caesar goes to Spain and defeats Pompey's lieutenants there.





Besieged in Alexandria, Caesar's army routs Ptolemy's forces and pursues them. The boy king is found drowned, but it's not known whether his death is accidental or not. Caesar makes Cleopatra ruler.

Caesar returns to Rome, but is then forced to go to Spain to fight yet another Pompeian army, this time led by Pompey's son Cnaeus. After a hard fight, Caesar wins the war at Munda. On his return to Rome, he is made dictator for life.



A period of frequent civil war, during which all of the conspirators are killed or commit suicide. In the end, only Mark Antony and Octavian (Caesar's nephew and heir) are left. Antony and his lover Cleopatra are beaten at Actium in 31 BC and take their own lives a year later. Octavian becomes Augustus, Rome's first emperor.



#### **PASSION PLAY**

#### Caesar and his lovers

Julius Caesar was married three times. His first wife died, he divorced the second and was survived by the third. Roman aristocrats married to make political alliances and to father legitimate children, but many took other lovers, often professional courtesans. Caesar was unusual because he seduced the wives of other senators, including both Pompey and Crassus.

The longest affair was with Servilia, which appears to have spanned decades. In one tense senatorial meeting, Cato saw a note being slipped to Caesar and assumed that it was something incriminating, so demanded that it be read out aloud. Caesar refused, but finally passed it to Cato who was dismayed to see that it was a passionate love letter to Caesar from Servilia, his sister.

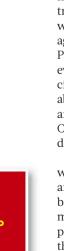
Caesar was not faithful to Servilia any more than he was to his wives. During the dictatorship, she allegedly helped him to conduct an affair with her third daughter, Junia Tertia (or Third). When Servilia bought property at a knock-down price in an auction arranged by Caesar, Cicero joked that she had got "a third off".

Apart from Roman women, Caesar was said to have slept with many aristocratic women in Gaul. In later years, at least one Gallic aristocratic boasted that he included an illegitimate son of Caesar among his ancestors. Caesar slept with the Queen of Mauretania, but his most famous royal lover was Cleopatra, more than 30 years his junior. Both were political animals; gaining an advantage added to the genuine passion of the affair.

As far as we know, Cleopatra was a virgin when she met Caesar and was more seduced than seducer. After he had won the war restoring her to power, they spent months cruising along the Nile, before he reluctantly left Egypt to continue the civil war. She came to Rome, shortly before his death, but otherwise they did not see each other again.

For all his serial womanising, a story dogged Caesar that, as a teenager, he had himself been seduced by the elderly King Nicomedes of Bithynia (a Greek kingdom in northern Turkey). Caesar's soldiers joked that "Caesar conquered Gaul, but Nicomedes conquered Caesar". Army humour did not bother him, but the jibes of other senators did. One dubbed him "a husband to women and a wife to men". During the dictatorship, Caesar took a public oath denying any truth in the story - which only made his detractors repeat the slur with more enthusiasm.

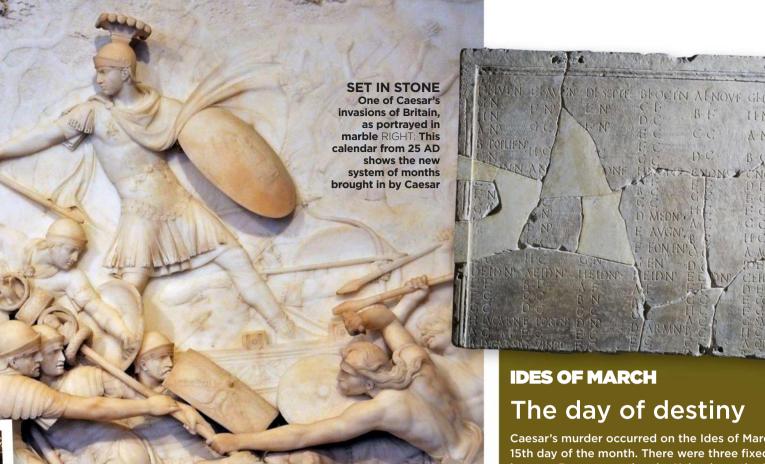




enemies wanted to prevent this and put Caesar on trial, hoping to disgrace him and end his career. Roman political trials had little to do with the crimes and were more a means of waging vendettas against rivals. Crassus was dead, killed in Parthia in 53 BC, while Pompey drifted ever closer to Cato and the others. The civil war fought from 49-45 BC was not about issues or ideology. Pompey, Cato and the rest were determined to end Caesar's career. Caesar, naturally, was determined to avoid this.

He won because he had a better army, was a better battlefield commander and - as he was the first to admit - because he was lucky. He was also far more generous than his opponents, parading his clemency and pardoning the opponents he captured. Cato, though, refused to accept Caesar's mercy and stabbed himself with a sword. He botched the job, which allowed his son





#### Cato refused to accept Caesar's mercy, stabbing himself with a sword

The age that

Cleopatra was when

she and Caesar

became lovers.

At the time,

Caesar was 52

to fetch doctors and have the wound sewn up. Once he was left alone, Cato ripped the stitches open and pulled out his own entrails, dying in a final gruesome gesture of opposition to Caesar.

**JOB FOR LIFE** 

Caesar made himself dictator. extending the term of office so that he was voted in for ten years and then for life. He openly dismissed Sulla as "a political illiterate" for resigning, and described the Republic as an empty name. But, unlike Sulla, he treated former opponents generously. He also ruled well. The disorders of the recent decades, and the reluctance of the likes of Cato to let any other senator stand out from the crowd, had meant that many serious problems were ignored and allowed to fester. Caesar threw himself into reform and rebuilding the state with all the energy he had shown as a general.

Rome's institutions began to function again and the provinces were more stable and better run. Even the calendar,

which had fallen badly out of synch with the natural seasons, was replaced.

Few people saw
Caesar's government
and reforms as bad
in themselves. His
measures were sensible
and, in the main, effective.

For instance, his law regulating the behaviour of provincial governors remained in force for centuries. Yet, for the aristocracy, there was a deep-seated feeling that no one man should have so much power, however well he used it. Caesar's glory and prestige outstripped everyone else's by so large a margin that there seemed little point to the normal competition at the centre of public life. The feeling was especially strong in men like Brutus and Cassius, both in their late 30s and approaching the years when they expected to be at the heart of politics. Caesar was in the way, blocking the path to fame and honours.

Brutus and Cassius had previously both sided with Pompey, Cato and the others. They fought against Caesar at the Caesar's murder occurred on the Ides of March, the 15th day of the month. There were three fixed days in every Roman month – the Kalends on the 1st, the Nones (on either the 5th or 7th depending on the month) and the Ides (on either the 13th or 15th). Other days were noted as the first or the second day (and so on) before or after one of these.

Rome's traditional calendar was based on ten lunar months, supplemented by additional months whenever the priests overseeing the calendar thought necessary. By Caesar's day, it was hopelessly out of sequence with the real seasons, so in 46 BC he introduced a new system, the calculations probably assisted by philosophers from Alexandria. The Julian calendar had 12 months (or 365 days) with an extra day every fourth year. Adjusted by Pope Gregory XIII in the 16th century because it had again moved out of line with the seasons, this is the system in use today.

Rome's political year began in January, named after the god whose statues had two faces looking behind and ahead, and finished in December, the 'tenth' month. Caesar's reform kept these important names, but meant that December was (and is) now in fact the 12th month of the year. As an honour, the Senate renamed the month Quinctilis as July. Later, August was named after Caesar's adopted son the Emperor Augustus.

start of the civil war, but surrendered in 48 BC after the Battle of Pharsalus where Pompey's legions were routed. Not only did Caesar spare them both, he also rewarded them with office and honours; they did very well out of his regime. The same was true of Decimus Brutus, cousin to the famous Brutus, and Caius Trebonius, both of whom had served Caesar in Gaul and during the civil war. Trebonius was made consul, while the other three were marked down to hold



BATTLE BRAIN

ot only did Caesar

possess enormous military acumen, he

also recounted his

soldiers' campaigns with verve and

#### **MASTER AND COMMANDER**

#### Caesar – the legendary general

Roman politicians followed a career mixing military with civil posts, and the greatest glory came from defeating the enemies of the Roman people. Caesar spent less time with the army during his youth than most senators, and when he took command in Gaul in 58 BC, few would have guessed that he would prove such a skilled commander. An excellent horseman, Caesar trained his men hard, leading them in person on route marches in all weathers. He also rewarded them generously whenever they fought well. The Romans believed that he had fought and won more battles than any other commander in history. In battle, he shared the danger, riding from one crisis point to the next, encouraging, giving orders and bringing up reserves to plug a gap or exploit a breakthrough.

Caesar was a bold, aggressive general, but any apparent recklessness was based on careful preparation and a confident assurance that, whatever happened, he and his men would fight their way through. Caesar never gave up and exuded an absolute assurance in final victory. Over time, the bond between general and soldiers reached a fervour only matched by the likes of Napoleon.

During the civil war, his favourite Tenth Legion mutinied because many men were overdue for discharge. Caesar stood before them and called them Quirites or 'Civilians' rather than his

usual 'Comrades'. The mutiny collapsed and the soldiers began begging him to execute one in ten as long as he took the rest back into his service.

Caesar was not simply a great commander, but a great writer, whose commentaries on the Gallic

and civil wars are classics
of military history. He
wrote in the third person
about himself, while his
soldiers were nostri
- 'our men' - able
to triumph over

enemies and nature itself, Caesar is the hero, but one

whose actions are often left to the reader's imagination. His accounts were meant for a contemporary audience. Released in the winter after each campaign, they were designed to be read aloud to audiences of Romans who instinctively thrilled to the stories of their boys winning victory after victory.

the office in the years to come. That they were given the honour through Caesar's favour rankled with them and many of their

With Brutus, the situation was even more complicated. His mother Servilia was the halfsister of Cato and for decades had carried on an affair with Caesar. There were persistent

contemporaries.

rumours that Brutus was Caesar's natural son. Although this was untrue, Caesar was fond of him and showed him particular friendship. Even so, Brutus idolised his uncle Cato, also following the stern doctrines of Stoic philosophy. He married Cato's daughter Porcia, who was thus his first cousin, and wrote a book praising his uncle to the skies.

Caesar's only response was his *AntiCato*, painting the philosopher as a mean-spirited drunk, and he continued to show great favour to Brutus. Fully aware that most senators loathed the fact that he was dictator, Caesar thought that they would have enough sense to realise that killing him would only lead to fresh civil war. He was wrong.

Cassius was married to Brutus's sister, Junia Tertia. Gossip suggested that Caesar had bedded her, allegedly

with the connivance of Servilia, but we cannot say whether resentment at this fuelled his hostility.

In Brutus's case, a strong sense of guilt surely spurred him on - his adored uncle had died rather than accept Caesar's mercy, whereas he had surrendered and prospered at the price of his principles. Some 60 conspirators began to meet.

Mark Antony was sounded out, but did not join, although nor did he report the matter to Caesar.

Rumours spread that Caesar wanted to be named king, an even more hated title than dictator. He said that he "was not king (rex), but Caesar" - Rex was a family name as well as a title. Not everyone believed him, and there were even wilder stories of his future plans. What was certain was that he was soon to leave for a three-year campaign in the Balkans and then against the Parthians in their heartland (modern Iraq and Iran).

#### A PLAN IS HATCHED

The plot was well thought-out, but helped because Caesar had dismissed his bodyguard and ignored warnings, including the soothsayer's "Beware the Ideas of March!" as immortalised by Shakespeare. Brutus insisted that only



The estimated

number of men

who participated in Caesar's

assassination

in 44 BC

### HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS JULIUS CAESAR





Caesar be killed, but Decimus Brutus brought a force of gladiators to protect them after the deed was done. Antony was drawn off before the Senate met, convening in a temple built by Pompey. As fellow consul, he would have sat beside Caesar and no doubt would have fought to protect him.

Using the excuse of a petition, the conspirators clustered around Caesar. One of them grabbed the dictator's toga and pulled it free from his shoulder as the signal to attack. Another man, Casca, produced a dagger and stabbed Caesar

in the shoulder, prompting an angry response that roughly translates as "Bloody Casca, what are you playing at!" One source says Caesar tried to pull the knife from Casca's hand, another that he drew his sharp stylus pen and jabbed at the conspirators. Casca

yelled out for help and the rest of the conspirators clustered around them. In the confusion, several were accidentally stabbed by the other assassins. Brutus received a bad wound in the thigh during the scrimmage. He then stabbed Caesar in

the groin, and this prompted recognition and dismay from the dictator.

There is no evidence for Shakespeare's "Et tu Brute" and instead the dictator spoke in Greek - "Kai su teknon" or "You too, my son", the tone of which is a good deal more aggressive. Caesar went down fighting and only one of his wounds was later judged to be fatal. He collapsed at the base of Pompey's statue, just managing to pull his toga over his face before he died.

The conspirators fled, running to the Capitol, Rome's ancient citadel, where

#### **LAST HOURS**

FAR LEFT:

Caesar's wife pleads with him not to visit the Senate on 15 March 44 BC LEFT: The knives are out for Caesar BELOW: Marc **Antony delivers** his tribute to Caesar, later immortalised by Shakespeare as the famous 'Friends, Romans, countrymen' speech

they were guarded by their gladiators. In the days to come, Brutus tried to rouse the wider population to the cause of liberty, and also distributed money to buy their support. Neither worked. On 18 March, Caesar received a public funeral in the Forum, where Antony riled the crowd to anger against the conspirators. Civil war soon followed, continuing on and off until 30 BC, when Antony killed himself and Caesar's great nephew and adopted son was left as the last man standing. He became Caesar Augustus, Rome's first emperor.  $\odot$ 

#### WHAT DO YOU THINK?

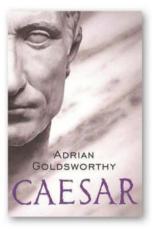
Were Caesar's political opponents justified in expressing their disatisfaction in this way? email: editor@historvrevealed.com



### **GET HOOKED**

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#### **BOOKS**



#### CAESAR: LIFE OF A COLOSSUS (2008)

by Adrian Goldsworthy
An extraordinary life,
vividly told. Goldsworthy's
epic study covers all of
the dictator's triumphs –
on the battlefield and in
the bedroom – as well
as exploring just why
Caesar remains a
compelling figure more
than two millennia after
his brutal demise.

#### **ALSO READ**

- ► Rubicon: the Last Years of the Roman Republic (2004) by Tom Holland
- ► The Death of Caesar (2016) by Barry Strauss
- ► SPQR: a History of Ancient Rome (2015) by Mary Beard

#### **ON SCREEN**

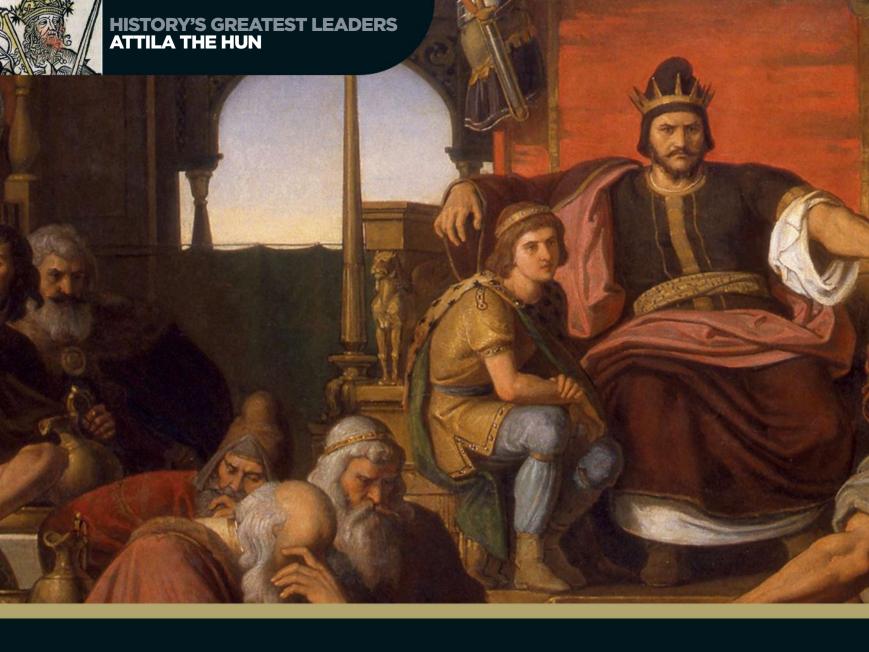


#### JULIUS CAESAR (1953)

Director Joseph L Mankiewicz took Shakespeare's play to the silver screen, in the process assembling a starstudded cast. John Gielgud played Cassius, James Mason was Brutus and Marlon Brando played Mark Antony.

#### **ALSO SEE**

- ▶ Mary Beard's Ultimate Rome: Empire Without Limit (2016). In this BBC TV series, the celebrated historian is your guide to the significant locations that defined Ancient Rome
- ▶ Rome (2005-2007). A fictionalised, frenetic version of Caesar's life and times



# ATILLA THE HUN THE MAN WHO DARED TO TAKE ON ROME

Described as being "born into the world to shake nations", the king of the Hunnic Empire certainly shook Europe, but he would eventually bow to diplomacy, writes **Miles Russell** 



arly summer AD 452, and the whole of northern Italy is ablaze. The city of Aquileia, one of the largest and wealthiest in the Roman Empire, is the first to fall to the enemy, its treasures looted and population butchered without mercy. The towns of Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Milan, Padua, Verona and Vicenza follow, together with the villas, temples, farms and all other centres of population. Those fortunate enough to escape the horror flee to the relative safety of the islands and marshy lagoons of the Adriatic. Many believe this to be Armageddon, the end of days, a war of terror coordinated by none other than Satan himself.

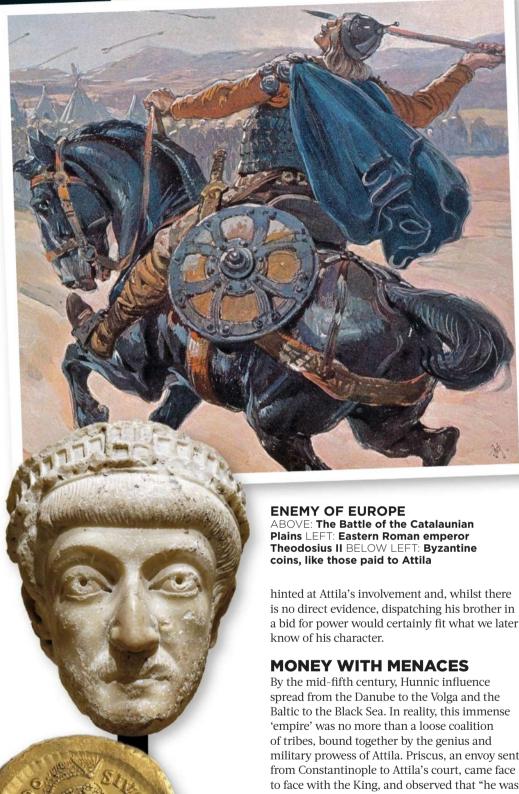
#### **SCOURGE OF GOD**

Attila the Hun, later branded as "the scourge of God", is arguably one of history's most infamous characters, standing as the ultimate barbarian. He was certainly a powerful warlord, but he was also an astute politician, keeping a diverse confederation of tribes together for decades, and a successful crime lord, extorting money from his enemies with a ruthlessness that exceeded any later mafia don.

Unfortunately we know very little of the man himself, for the Huns failed to write their own version of history. In fact, 'Attila' may not have been his real name, for 'Ata-ila' may be translated as 'Little-Father', akin perhaps to the title 'Atatürk' (the 'Father of the Turks') later given to Mustafa Kemal, first president of Turkey. For information surrounding Attila's life and world-view, we have to rely on the writing of his bitterest enemies, the Romans.

Born into Hunnic aristocracy early in the fifth century, Attila and his elder brother Bleda were nephews of King Rugila. The Huns were a nomadic, pastoralist society who, from the fourth century AD, had been migrating west towards the Roman Empire. Growing up, Bleda and Attila would have learnt to ride almost as soon as they could walk. They would also have been trained as archers, for the Huns were renowned for being able to dispatch arrows with great accuracy from horseback in battle. He was certainly known to have had many wives, polygamy helping to bind the Hunnic clans together.

When King Rugila died in 434, he was succeeded by his nephews. We don't know how Bleda and Attila got on, but they seem to have at least tolerated each other, successfully co-ruling for over a decade. In 445, however, Bleda was dead. Some



JORDANES, THE ORIGIN AND DEEDS OF THE GOTHS "He was a man born into the world to shake nations, the scourge of all lands, who terrified mankind by the dreadful stories that surrounded him."

By the mid-fifth century, Hunnic influence spread from the Danube to the Volga and the Baltic to the Black Sea. In reality, this immense 'empire' was no more than a loose coalition of tribes, bound together by the genius and military prowess of Attila. Priscus, an envoy sent from Constantinople to Attila's court, came face to face with the King, and observed that "he was a very wise counsellor, merciful to those who sought it and loyal to those he had accepted as friends". In fact, so generous could he be to his supporters that, Priscus noted, many considered life with the Huns to be better than in the Roman Empire; corruption, injustice and taxation all being unknown. While Attila lived, his empire was a successful business operation.

The Huns soon discovered that large amounts of cash could be extorted from the Roman Empire merely from threats, both direct and implied. Throughout the 420s and 30s, the Eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II paid the Huns 350lb of gold a year just to stay away. By 442, this had increased to 1,000lb. When,

in 447, Theodosius refused to pay, Attila took an army directly into the Balkans and began burning towns. Theodosius swiftly capitulated, immediately agreeing to settle arrears and restart payment, Attila raising the annual sum to 2,100lb of gold. The Hunnic King was evidently not a man to cross.

Mindful of the effect that Roman luxuries could have on his people, Attila tightly controlled all movement across the frontier. He decreed that no Hun could settle within the Roman world nor serve in its army, all 'deserters' being returned to him for punishment by the subservient Roman state. Instructing the Emperor Theodosius to create a no-man's-land along the border, Attila was able to limit any form of direct contact, this early 'Iron Curtain' establishing cultural apartheid between Roman and Hun. Now Roman envoys

had to come directly to Attila's capital at Margus (Požarevac, near Belgrade) in order to negotiate treaties and pay protection money.

Priscus, who provides an evewitness account to life inside Attila's court, notes that, after being kept waiting for a number of days, ambassadors were invited to a banquet in the great hall. Here Attila, dressed simply and without ornament, sat on a raised couch at the head of the company. According to Priscus, the guests all received "a luxurious meal, served on silver plate", but Attila, ever aware of theatrical nature of the feast, "ate nothing but meat on a wooden trencher". His cup too was of wood, whilst the visitors drank from goblets of gold.

#### BARBARIAN INVASION

In the spring of AD 451, Attila crossed the river Rhine at the head of a vast army. The reasons for this sudden change of strategy, from extortion to military intervention, are unclear. It may be that, in order to stay in power, he required a major demonstration of strength. Alternatively, it may be that he felt the Western Roman Empire simply hadn't paid him enough respect (or gold). History tells us that the catalyst was a letter from Honoria, sister of the Western emperor Valentinian, pleading with Attila to come and rescue her from an arranged marriage. Whatever the true reason, the Huns were now inside the Empire, burning, looting and killing large numbers of civilians.

Mobilising the defence was Aetius, chief general of the Western Roman army. Aetius had spent his youth as a hostage with the Huns and had grown up with Attila. Even though the two men were on opposing sides, they evidently had great respect for one another. Gathering what



#### 1. MARGUS

Site of Attila's great market centre, Margus (Požarevac near Belgrade in Serbia) was where the Hunnic King controlled trade and held court, and it is here that various envoys and ambassadors from Rome and Persia paid homage to him.

2. CONSTANTINOPLE
Capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinople was constantly threatened by the Huns, the most dangerous being in 447 when the city walls were hastily repaired following an earthquake only days before a Hunnic army arrived to lay siege.

The precise location of the great Battle of the Catalaunian Plains, where Hunnic and Roman coalitions fought each other to a standstill in 451, is still unknown, although it is thought to have occurred near the French town of Troyes.

#### 4. AQUILEIA

In 452, after a three-month siege, Aquileia, one of the richest of all Roman cities, fell to Attila and its population was slaughtered. According to popular belief, refugees from Aquileia went on to establish Venice in the marshy lagoons of the Adriatic.

#### **5. RAVENNA**

A short distance from Rome, Attila was met by Leo, Bishop of Rome, and other ambassadors. Shortly afterwards the Huns returned home. The Church claimed this as a miracle, although it may have been more of an unconditional Roman surrender.



regular troops he had, Aetius rallied an anti-Hun coalition of barbarian tribes and hurriedly marched to battle. On the morning of 20 June 451, both sides clashed on the Catalaunian Plains, near Troyes, northeast France. Over 160,000 died on either side, the Roman historian Jordanes noting the fields were "piled high with bodies" and the rivers "swollen with blood". It was close, but the Huns were beaten.

Curiously, Aetius allowed Attila to leave the battlefield, possibly because he felt that the Huns may yet prove useful to him. Perhaps he was simply letting a respected opponent retreat with honour intact. It would ultimately prove to be a costly mistake. The following year, Attila returned with an even larger army, this time striking deep into northern Italy.

#### **RETURN OF THE KING**

Following the destruction of Aquileia, the Western emperor Valentinian sent ambassadors to Attila hoping to negotiate terms. Among the envoys was Leo, Bishop of Rome. We don't know what was said at the meeting, but when it finished, the Huns simply packed up and

left. This was spun by the Church as "The Great Miracle", Rome saved by the word of God and the bravery of Leo, his representative on Earth, and was immortalised in a painting by Raphael. Here, the saintly Leo defiantly stares Attila down, whilst behind him Saints Peter and Paul descend from heaven, fully armed and up for a fight. Upon seeing this, the satanic Attila recoils in abject terror.

The reality was perhaps more down-to-earth. The Emperor offered a complete and unconditional surrender, agreeing to all of Attila's demands, promising him Honoria as a wife and offering a dowry to be paid in gold. Attila, on his part, was probably also keen to leave Italy, for not only was the campaign taking its toll (food was short and disease rife), but also his army was starting to fall apart.

The retreat from Italy marked the beginning of the end for Attila. Returning home, Jordanes tells us, the King took another wife and, after "he had given himself up to excessive joy" on his wedding night, died of a nosebleed brought on by drunkenness. Given that Attila was renowned for moderation (at least as far as

THE DEVIL'S WORK?

MAIN: The Meeting of Leo the Great and Attila, a fresco painted by Renaissance artist Raphael INSET:

Attila was said to be a "lover of war"

alcohol was concerned), it is more likely that he was assassinated. His death deprived the Huns of a great and charismatic leader. Within a few years, their empire had disintegrated.

It may have been no more than a violent, short-lived robber state, but the impact of the Hunnic Empire upon the political, religious and cultural institutions of Europe was profound. The meeting between Leo and Attila proved a turning point for the Western Empire, demonstrating that it was the Bishop of Rome who wielded ultimate power. Arguably, it was this that cemented the status of the papacy, and ended the secular supremacy of the emperors. •



### HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS ATTILA THE HUN



#### THE HUNS

Possibly originating from Mongolia, the Huns were a terrifying prospect for Rome. Most barbarian migrants desired food, land and territorial security, travelling in large, slow-moving groups. The Huns were different, being highly mobile and, for the Romans, who had little contact with the Asian Steppe, of unusual appearance with unfamiliar customs and language. Worse, from a Roman perspective, they were unrepentantly pagan, displaying little desire to settle down and behave.

down and behave.

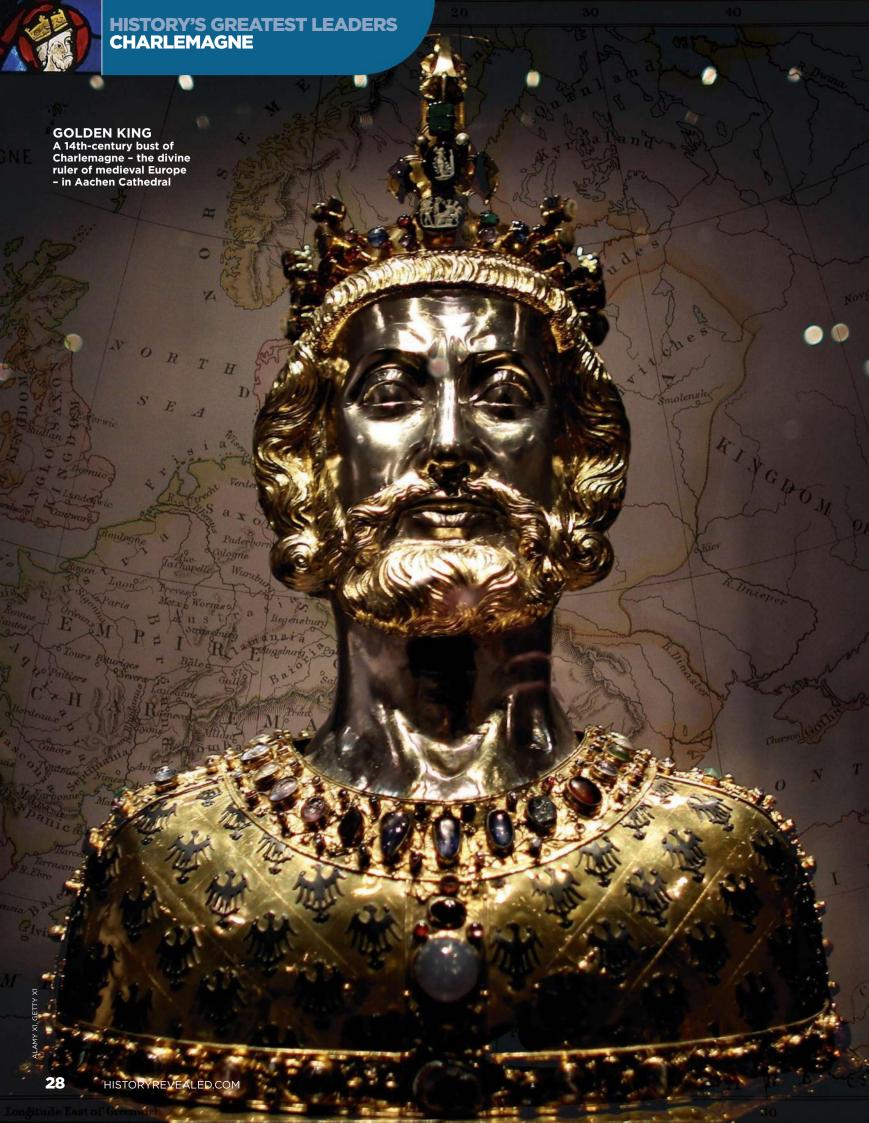
Rome's predominantly Christian society viewed the Huns with a mixture of horror and fascination. The Roman historian Jordanes described them as "little, foul, emaciated creatures possessing only the shadow of speech; monsters with faces made of shapeless collops of flesh" whilst Ammianus Marcellinus noted that they were always untrustworthy and unpredictable. Living their entire life on horseback, Ammianus observed that they possessed only rudimentary cooking skills, eating either roots or animal flesh

"which they warm by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses". One evident truth Ammianus records was that the Huns were "immoderately covetous of gold". Positioned at the northern fringe of the Roman world, they were a near and present danger, able to extort a large amount of the precious metal from their Mediterranean neighbours.

The Roman Empire of the fifth century was divided into two. To the east an emperor ruled from Constantinople (now Istanbul), whilst the West, a territory badly affected by invasion and civil war, was nominally held together by an emperor based in northern Italy. In theory, both leaders worked together for the good of the Empire; in reality, however, the relationship was strained, division being less of an amicable uncoupling, more a traumatic and acrimonious divorce. A disunited Empire played well for the Huns, for Rome divided meant that no single opponent was strong enough to stand against them.







# CHARLEMAGNE BRINGING LIGHT TO THE DARK AGES

A man of war, scholarship and deep faith, Charlemagne is the king who united western Europe in battle, and fused it for a millennium with religion and a thriving renaissance, writes **Jonny Wilkes** 

## HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS CHARLEMAGNE

hristmas Day in AD 800, and the powerful King of the Franks and Lombards, Charlemagne, is celebrating mass in Rome.

Kneeling at the altar in the majestic setting of St Peter's

Basilica, he is about to rise from his prayers when, seemingly unexpectedly, Pope Leo III approaches the monarch, places a crown on his head and proclaims him *Imperator* Romanorum – 'Emperor of the Romans'.

In many ways, the act shouldn't have been all that surprising. Charlemagne was the most powerful man in Europe, having spent three decades building a domain the likes of which had not been seen since the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century AD. He introduced sweeping reforms, centralised control, encouraged an intellectual renaissance and spread Christianity (although rarely peacefully). As a deeply pious man, he had proved himself a committed protector of papal authority and lands, and Leo owed his very life to Charlemagne's recent intervention and support. Yet, if the story is to be believed, the Frankish King had no idea what the Pope was intending, or how important it would be to his legacy.

That moment on Christmas Day – the coronation of Charlemagne (or Charles the Great) as the first Holy Roman Emperor – has since been described as one of the most seismic events in European history. It laid the foundations for the continent we know today and ensured that the legend of Charlemagne would never be forgotten.

The details of his early life, however, may never be known. It is thought he was born in the AD 740s, either in Liege or Aachen (present-day Belgium and Germany respectively), but these are estimations. Even Einhard, a respected scholar of Charlemagne's court, admits that: "It would be folly, I think, to write a word concerning Charles's birth and infancy, or even his boyhood, for nothing has been written on the subject, and there is no-one alive now who can give information on it." He was the son of Pippin III, who was Mayor of the Palace to the

# To have another language is to possess a second soul."

Charlemagne

Merovingian Dynasty – the toothless rulers of the Franks. Although he was only an official, Pippin actually wielded far greater power and influence than the 'do-nothing' Merovingian kings (see Europe before Charlemagne, right), resulting, in AD 751, with him seizing the throne for himself. By the time of his death in AD 768, Pippin passed on a great kingdom to his sons, Carloman and Charlemagne.

For three years, the brothers ruled jointly but not-so harmoniously. Between an uprising and their own rivalry, outright war was often a very real threat. Rather conveniently, this was avoided as Carloman died suddenly in AD 771 (of natural causes, it was claimed) and Charlemagne became the sole ruler.

#### **MILITARY CAMPAIGNING**

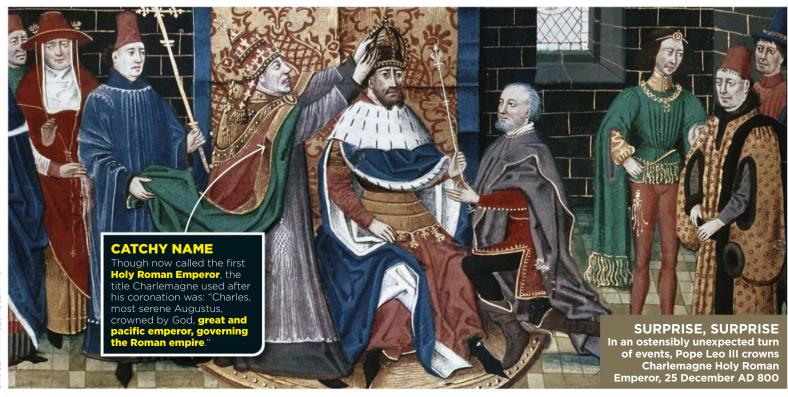
With his own position more secure, the warrior-king Charlemagne set out to expand his Frankish territories, unite his people under his banner and spread Christianity. To these ends, he was in a near-constant state of military campaigning during his reign. He invaded lands on all sides simultaneously, displaying

both a tactical brain for battle and a ruthlessness towards any enemies who defied him. Strongly built, tall, energetic and courageous, he was often found at the vanguard of his forces, wielding his legendary sword known as 'Joyeuse'.

The most brutal of his front lines was in the north, where he became embroiled in a bloody conflict with the Saxons for three decades, before they were finally brought into the fold. As the Saxons strongly opposed his forceful attempts to convert them, the fighting

was fierce. Pillaging and mass killings were commonplace. The worst came in AD 782, when Charlemagne ordered the slaughter of around 4,500 Saxons, in what is now known as the Massacre of Verden, as a punishment for their ongoing rebellion against him. After the Saxons fell, it was declared that anyone who didn't get baptised into Christianity would be put to death.

His religious zeal also drove his campaigns in the south. Early on in his reign, he invaded northern Italy – as the Lombards were threatening the power of the Pope – and, by AD 774, he had declared himself their King.



With Islam growing as well as Christianity, Charlemagne was concerned with his southwestern border, so ordered a foolhardy march into Spain. Despite disastrous defeats and an eventual retreat, he did manage to establish

eventual retreat, he did manage to establish Frankish control over the Spanish

March, near the Pyrenees. Along with the capture of Bavaria and his victories over the Avars, Charlemagne conquered the vast majority of Western Europe – creating the Carolingian Empire. And with at least 18 children born of his many wives and concubines, Charlemagne clearly intended his empire to last.

#### **SETTING STANDARDS**

Once Charlemagne had acquired new lands, he faced the issue of how they should be controlled.
Although away on campaign for huge stretches of time,
Charlemagne was always directly involved in the governing of his domain.
This was thanks to his palatium – a group of trusted advisers and family members – who would follow him as an itinerant government, as well as by setting up courts in various cities to ensure he was never far from a seat of power. His grandest residence was at Aachen, the capital of his empire.

This style of governing may seem unstable and hard to manage, but Charlemagne's administration was an overwhelming success, especially considering that his domain included dozens of peoples, languages and cultures – many of which had been violently brought under his control. The reason he was able to bring law and order to Europe, which had seen centuries of fighting and division since the fall of the Romans, can be summed up with one word: standardisation.

The most obvious example of this was in religion. As the devout Charlemagne spread Christianity – often using oppressive, even

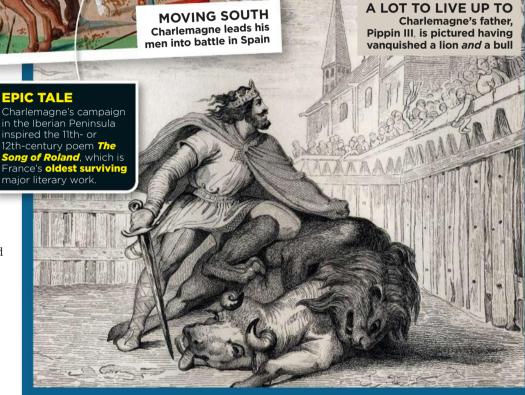
PRIDE AND GLORY
The Palatine Chapel in the
Palace of Aachen - the
jewel in Charlemagne's
architectural crown

draconian methods – he became a central figure in the Church. As well as paying huge sums to the establishment, he was responsible for the appointment of bishops and abbots and was a key ally of the papacy – his regime



was the muscle propping up the increasingly vulnerable Papal States. Rather than alienating or infuriating the clergy, however, his aggressive policies were welcomed, as Charlemagne was seen to be strengthening and centralising Church power. He was hailed, borderline worshipped, as the guardian of the faith.

Charlemagne knew that the growth of Christianity wasn't enough to ensure stability in his realm. So he took up one of his father's reforms and implemented it on a much larger scale: he made the bold step of abandoning the gold standard as the basis of the monetary system, and replaced it with a uniform silver currency. This helped to standardise weights



#### **TOP CHOICE**

#### **EUROPE BEFORE CHARLEMAGNE**

Around the time of Charlemagne's birth in the mid-eighth century AD, Europe was in the midst of the Dark Ages. After the Roman Empire collapsed nearly 300 years earlier – the last Western Emperor, Romulus Augustus, had been deposed in AD 476 – the continent struggled to adapt to a world without the relative structure and society of the Romans. The laws, trade networks, bureaucracy and even the roads that the Romans had put in place were long lost. The land was broken up into a collection of independent and constantly fighting kingdoms, and Francia (made up of modernday parts of Germany and France) was among the biggest and most powerful. It was ruled by the Merovingian Dynasty, but they were not effective leaders. They were dubbed *rois faineants*, or 'do-nothing kings', as the real power was behind the throne, in the hands of the Mayor of the Palace. Charlemagne's father, Pippin, served in that role until AD 751 when, with the blessing of the Pope, he ousted the last Merovingian King, Childeric III. An alliance was formed with the papacy, which saw the Pope officially recognise Pippin's authority in return for military assistance. When Charlemagne ascended the throne, he honoured this relationship.

#### BREAK OPEN THE CHARLEMAGNE

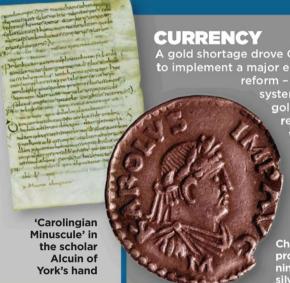
# **SUCCESS STORY**

Charlemagne's 46-year reign as King of the Franks, for 14 of which he also held the title of Emperor of the Romans, was dominated by military campaigns - but not all his victories came on the battlefield

#### LITERACY

Latin was the language used for the Bible and most official documents. As such, the clergy and administrators had to be able to read and speak it for Christianity to spread and the government to work efficiently. Schools of learning were created to improve literacy as was a new, simpler script. 'Carolingian Minuscule'.

MILITARY



A gold shortage drove Charlemagne to implement a major economic reform - abolishing the

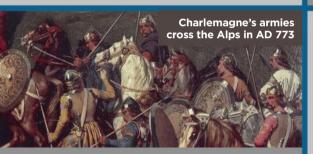
system based on gold coins and replacing it with a new **s**tandard, the livre carolinienne, which used pounds of silver.

> Charlemagne's profile adorns a ninth-century-AD

#### TRADE

Charlemagne ordered that all weights and measures should be equal and exact, which helped commerce to thrive across the Carolingian Empire and boosted trade with other countries, such as with King Offa of Mercia (pictured). Charlemagne was also interested in expanding into previously untapped trading possibilities. especially around the North and Baltic Seas.





#### RELIGION

Charlemagne's main goal was to convert his newly conquered lands to Christianity. Though his methods could be violent, he did also reform the Church and improved the moral standard of the clergy. His literacy reforms meant liturgical practices were standardised, and more clergymen were trained in teaching the Bible.



#### EMPIRE BUILDING

By his death in AD 814 (pictured). Charlemagne's empire was the biggest seen for some 400 years. It was the foundation for the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until 1806, when it was dissolved following defeat by Napoleon Bonaparte.





Within his vast domain. Charlemagne relied on royal officials, known as counts, to govern local entities. They were responsible for raising taxes and troops and maintaining law and order. Special officials, the missi dominici (pictured), would travel the realm to inspect the administration and pass on royal orders. Every year, the King held an assembly of his officials at Aachen, where he personally heard reports from his empire and spoke of new policies.

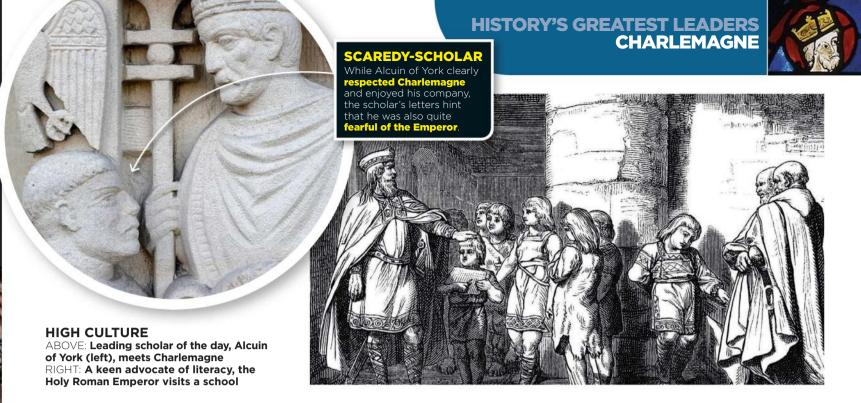


Charlemagne led a cultural and intellectual revival. Eminent clerics and scholars came to his court, and his libraries housed the classical works. The Palace of Aachen was the heart of this renaissance, with the greatest works of art and architecture, including the Palatine Chapel (pictured), which still enthrals visitors today.



#### **DYNASTY**

One area in which Charlemagne did not succeed was in the establishment of a dynasty. He had announced that, after his death, the empire would be split between his three sons, but two of them died before he did. Therefore, his youngest son Louis (pictured) became sole Emperor, but the Carolingian Dynasty fell apart within a century.



and measures used in trade, which went a long way to improving commerce around Europe and bringing in wealth.

He standardised the law across his realm with administrative and legal reforms, while aiming to ease communication by encouraging the teaching of Latin, ensuring a standardised language. What's more, a new style of writing was created during his reign. 'Carolingian Minuscule', compared to other scripts of the day, was easier to follow and learn, so was instrumental in improving literacy. Through standardisation, Charlemagne brought a divided Europe together under common law, universal communication and thriving trade. Those who didn't obey were dealt with harshly.

#### **RENAISSANCE MAN**

Although it is thought he had little education himself – he was unable to read and write until late in life – Charlemagne placed great significance on education. He was not only concerned about the acquisition of knowledge, but also its preservation. To that end, he built and patronised schools, libraries and scriptoria, where manuscripts could be created and copied, and encouraged a cultural, scholarly and intellectual awakening that had been missing in Europe during the Dark Ages. Some 7,000 manuscripts still survive from eighth– and

ninth-century Europe alone. In what is now referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance, the explosion in cultural activity did not just manifest itself through writing, however, but in art, architecture and music. Charlemagne invited the great minds from Italy, Spain, England and Ireland to his empire, the most

"Right action
is better than
knowledge, but in
order to do what is
right, we must know
what is right."

Charlemagne

notable of whom was the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin of York. On seeing the intellectual achievements of Charlemagne's court, Alcuin claimed that a "New Athens" was being formed at Aachen.

As he grew older, Charlemagne became less involved in military campaigns – which were against new threats to the empire such as the Vikings – but he was no less dedicated to his reforms. In AD 813, as if aware he didn't have much time left, he crowned one of his sons, Louis the Pious, as co-Emperor, in the expectation that his empire would continue to flourish. The following year, he fell ill after catching a fever while bathing in Aachen's warm springs. He died a week later in bed,

supposedly upset that he was going to die with his work on Earth unfinished.

Whether as King of the Franks or as the Emperor of the Romans, Charlemagne was the most powerful man in Europe. His coronation at the dawn of the new century actually changed little in terms of how much power the ageing ruler wielded, but it was a massively symbolic move. It challenged the authority of the Byzantine Empire, based in Constantinople (and built from the last remnants of the Eastern Roman Empire), and gave further legitimacy to his spiritual role as the protector of Christendom. Most importantly, that

Christmas Day in AD 800 was day one of the Holy Roman Empire (although it wasn't called that until the 13th century), which lasted over 1,000 years. As such, it has often been argued that the crowning of Charlemagne was the foundation for modern-day Europe. Despite Charlemagne's efforts, however, his own Carolingian Dynasty was not to last. In less than a century, its power was all but gone, as none of his successors could match his ambition and leadership. After all, as the world around him was stagnating in the Dark Ages, Charlemagne had dragged it (kicking and screaming at times) into the light – it was a tough act to follow. •

## EINHARD, FRANKISH SCHOLAR AT THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE

"He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters"



#### WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Charlemagne is sometimes called the 'Father of Europe', but was he a good leader or nothing more than a tyrant? Email: editor@historyrevealed.com





# GENGHIS KHAN CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD

A ruthless warrior and military genius, Genghis Khan laid the foundations of the world's largest contiguous empire – a destiny that had defined him from the day of his birth, writes **Jonny Wilkes** 



#### HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS GENGHIS KHAN

he year was 1162 and, somewhere in the unforgiving terrain of the Eurasian Steppe, a woman was in the throes of childbirth. She knew life would be challenging for her child. Growing food was tricky in the harsh grassland of the Steppe - which runs from the Pacific Ocean to Europe - and wars between the nomadic tribes who survived there, such as her people, the Mongols, were common. Then, if not fighting each other, the tribes still had to be wary of two powerful empires on either side of them - to the west was the heart of 12th-century European civilisation, Persia, while the Jin Dynasty

Yet, the Mongols were hardy and the woman knew her husband, a tribal chief, would teach their child the vital skills for a life of herding and horseriding. It seemed, however, that the heavens expected more from the infant boy. As soon as he was born, everyone in the tent noticed that he was grasping a blood clot in his tiny hand, which was seen as a divine sign that he was destined to become a powerful leader.

(in modern-day China) lay to the east.

He was named Temujin, but we know him today as Genghis (or Chinggis) Khan, arguably the most powerful leader and conqueror of them all.

Even those who view him as the incarnation of evil – who butchered millions, built pyramids out of the skulls of his defeated enemies and razed cities to the ground – cannot deny that Khan lived up to the promise of that heavenly, and appropriately bloody, sign. He united the many disparate tribes

of Mongolia, built a highly disciplined, modern army and fathered the mighty Mongol Empire.

#### **SECRET HISTORY**

Before the empire came the challenging childhood his mother Hoelun had predicted, but it was worse than she imagined. According to the sole account of Khan's early years, The Secret History of the Mongols (written in the wake of his death) Temujin was not yet ten when his father died, poisoned by a group of the rival Tatar tribe. He, his mother and six siblings were without the security of a chief's protection and abandoned by their clan to fend for themselves. Dishonoured and desperate, they lived in poverty, eating roots, fruit and whatever they could catch. The teenage Temujin was hardened by these experiences and willingly turned to violence, including

"I am the punishment of God. If you had not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like

Genghis Khan

me upon you."





in a supposed incident when he shot his half-brother with a bow after learning he hoarded meat from a hunt.

Throughout the 1170s, Temujin learned which tribes he could trust and the importance of alliances. In one instance, he was captured and humiliated by former allies - escaping with the help of a sympathetic member of the tribe - but on another, he formed an alliance by marrying a girl named Börte. Their marriage had been arranged by his father and, according to the Secret History, Temujin was madly in love with her. When Börte was kidnapped by the Merkits, he sought the help of his boyhood 'blood brother' Jamuka, and a Mongol prince, who supplied him with an army of 20,000. With his own band of warriors. Temuiin was finally in a position to have vengeance on those who wronged him, beginning with a bloody rout of the Merkits as he rescued Börte.

As further tribes fell, Temujin's power rose as he cleverly adopted a carrot-and-stick approach. The carrot saw conquered people assimilated - to the extent that orphans were adopted into his own family - so they were safe under his newly created laws, the Yassa. As a highly charismatic leader, he inspired loyalty among the defeated. Most significantly, he encouraged a meritocratic society by elevating people based on ability, meaning shepherds could become generals. One such example was Zurgadai, who, in battle in 1201, wounded Temujin in the neck with an arrow. When the battle was won, Temujin demanded to know who fired at him and Zurgadai confessed. Impressed by his honesty, Temujin pardoned him, gave him the name 'Jebe' (or 'arrow') and a position in his army.

That does not mean Temujin was averse to the frequent use of the stick. He was a brutal warlord who put many to the sword. After annihilating the Tatars, who were responsible for his father's death, Temujin ordered the slaughter of

IDGEMAN IMAGES X2, GETTY X2



(or sovereign ruler) of the Mongols, actually came from Jamuka, who grew resentful of his old friend's adoption of meritocracy. In 1187, Jamuka had trounced Temujin's forces, before boiling dozens of defeated generals alive. Later in his life, Temujin described his reaction to this horrific act: "By the power of Heaven, I swore to gain my vengeance. Never again would I be defeated, nor my loval warriors so dishonoured." Their split was felt by the entire Mongol world, as chiefs rallied to support one or the other, in a conflict that dragged on for years. In the summer of 1204, Temujin won the decisive military victory, forcing Jamuka into hiding. His men eventually betrayed and brought him to Temujin (who had them executed for disloyalty). Although Temujin offered a reconciliation, Jamuka instead asked for an honourable death. With Jamuka's execution, all opposition to Temujin's supreme power was vanquished.

That same year, 1206, a council of chiefs met by the River Onon and proclaimed Temujin as ruler of all the united tribes, collectively called the

rivers of blood and mountains of skulls of his conquests, Mongolia itself changed dramatically during his rule, thanks to some rather progressive-sounding laws, such as the banning of Mongol slavery and the selling of women, and the promotion of religious freedom. Although illiterate, Khan also recognised the importance of the written word, and so ordered the adoption of a script to ensure records could be kept. To assist communication across his lands, he expanded the 'Yam', a messenger system that stretched across his empire. Operating as a chain of relay stations (where tired horses could be replaced for fresh ones), messages could travel hundreds of miles a day.

This clearly had a huge benefit to the army, which was always Khan's priority. The Mongol army was nearly entirely cavalry, as the peoples of the Steppe were natural riders, but they were disorganised, so Khan created an officertraining programme and transformed his warriors into a disciplined and well-equipped unit. He was a master tactician (using feigned retreats to great

ABOVE: Khan rides into battle with his loyal general, Jebe, in front RIGHT: Enemies and lawbreakers could expect harsh punishment, such as this man being flogged while Genghis Khan watches

effect) and utilised psychological warfare by ordering each of his men to light five fires to make his force look bigger to enemy scouts.

By far the most important weapon in the Mongol arsenal was the bow. Extremely powerful and deadly accurate, an arrow from a Mongol bow could pierce armour and be fired while riding a galloping horse. Rigid training meant that soldiers could fire at the precise moment when all four of their horse's hooves were off the ground to ensure the most accurate shot possible.

### **SHOCK AND AWE**

Khan marched this modern army across the Gobi Desert – no small feat in itself – to conquer the north-western Chinese kingdom of Xixia. He knew

# THE TOMB OF KHAN

Considering that he ruled over one of history's largest empires, there is so much we don't know about Genghis Khan – we don't even know what he looked like, as no contemporary portrait of him exists. Possibly the most alluring mystery is where his body was laid to rest. The *Secret History* makes no mention of the site. Before he died, he had taken steps to ensure that he would be buried in a spot without markings, as this was traditional amongst the Mongol people.

According to legend, his funeral procession slaughtered everyone it passed, as well as the slaves who built the tomb, to keep it concealed. The soldiers of the procession, if the story is to be believed, then killed themselves as one final act of loyalty. That's not the end of the fantastical tale – some claim a river was diverted to sink the tomb, while others say 1,000 horses rode over the site to remove all physical evidence. The search for Khan's tomb continues, with the most recent attempt employing satellite-imaging to search the Mongolian countryside.

The body of Khan is carried to its burial site while his soldiers kill everyone on the road

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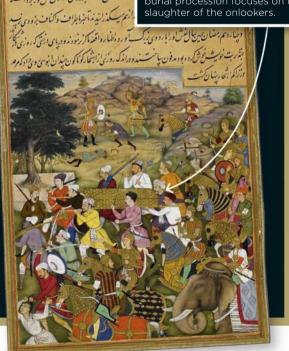
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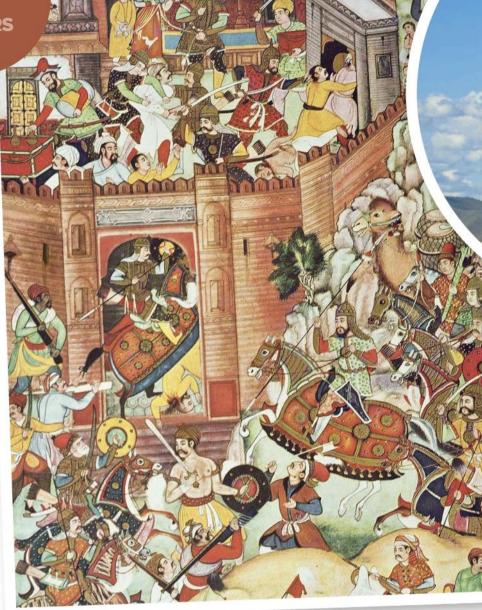
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While the Secret History shows Genghis Khan to be noble and heroic, writings and drawings from his conquered lands, such as Persia, paint him as nothing more than a murderous barbarian. This painting of his burial procession focuses on the slaughter of the onlookers





# "Conquering the world on horseback is easy. It is dismounting and governing that is hard."

Genghis Khan

the Chinese states had been happy to ignore the tribes of the Steppe while they fought each other, but they would not tolerate such a powerful force on their border. So he took the fight to them. As his warriors moved without a cumbersome supply train, they swept across the land at a blistering pace, raiding and plundering as they went. It was a effective form of shock-and-awe that saw the ruler of Xixia surrender quickly, despite the Mongols being outnumbered in every engagement.

Next, Khan turned on the Emperor of the Jin Dynasty after he had provoked the Mongols with a message, reading: "Our Empire is as vast as the sea. Yours is but a handful of sand. How could we fear you?" Starting in 1211, the country was ravaged without mercy and hundreds of thousands of Jin soldiers died. The Great Wall of China proved no defence as Khan simply marched his army around it. Where Khan was truly a military genius was in his ability to adapt to new strategies, such as siege warfare. Using the expertise of Chinese engineers, catapults and battering rams were built for the siege of the Jin capital of Zhongdu (Beijing) in 1214. As the Mongols attacked, using enemy prisoners as human shields, thousands were dying in the city from starvation, disease or by committing suicide.

It is easy to understand the fear of facing a Mongol horde – the sacking of



a town in this Persian illustration from the 16th century

ABOVE: A massive 40-metre-high statue of Khan on horseback stands in the Toy Province of Mongolia

Zhongdu was so intense, it was said that the ground became slick with human fat and a mountain of bones stood outside the walls.

Similar scenes, on an even bigger scale, occurred thousands of miles to the west a few years later, when the Mongols invaded the Khwarezm Empire (modern-day Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Iran). Khan had initially wanted to set up trade with the region, but he went on the warpath when one of his caravans was attacked, and his ambassador beheaded. Beginning in 1219, it was a war of utter barbarism and savagery, even by Mongol standards. Again, they were outnumbered, but nothing could stop them from completely destroying city after city, wiping out millions of lives (there were so many pyramids of skulls, it is impossible to know how many died) on the way. By 1221, the Khwarezm dynasty had been eliminated.

### **UNFULFILLED DESTINY**

The Mongol Empire stretched from the Sea of Japan to the Caspian Sea, but when Khan returned to Mongolia in 1225, he was unsatisfied. He believed that he been born to conquer the entire world, and that the blood clot he held as a newborn was a signal that he was favoured by the heavens. Yet, after some two decades of nearconstant military campaigning, Khan was in his 60s and growing weaker. He feared he would die without fulfilling that destiny. So, the conquests continued right up until his death. He sent generals further into Europe and Russia, and waged

THE MONGOL EMPIRE AFTER GENGHIS

At the time of Genghis Khan's death in 1227, the Mongol Empire was twice the size of Ancient Rome and four times larger than Alexander the Great's conquests. That, however, wasn't enough for Khan, who passed on to his successor, his third son Ögodei, the responsibility to complete his work and conquer the entire world.

Ögodei wasted no time. In the east, he looked to extend Mongol power over the whole of China, beginning with defeating the Jin Dynasty once and for all, while at the same time - as he allowed his generals to launch attacks independently - gains were being made in the west. In 1240, Kiev was sacked, and Russia fell under Mongol control, and would remain so over the next 200 years thanks to the Golden Horde, the army of the west of the empire. An envoy described the scene in Kiev after the siege: "We came across countless skulls and bones of dead men lying about on the ground. Kiev had been a very large and thickly populated town, but now it has been reduced almost to nothing."

Europe looked set to topple, with people living in fear of the savage barbarian horde. Priests claimed that the Mongols were agents of Satan and their arrival would signal the end of days. Mongols had gone as far west as they had ever been, marching through Hungary and Poland, but the invasions were called off with the death of Ögodei in 1241.

A power struggle ensued that threatened the Empire, until Kublai became the 'Great Khan' in 1260. The grandson of Genghis smashed the Southern Song Dynasty, conquered China and made himself the first Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty - marking the peak of Mongol power. The Empire had doubled in size since the time of its creator, Genghis.

war in Xixia once again to punish those who had refused to provide soldiers for the Khwarezm conquest. It was shortly after his victory there that, on 18 August 1227, Khan died. The circumstances are uncertain, although one legend claims that his health deteriorated after falling from his horse - an ironic ending for the leader who forged a nation and the world's largest contiguous empire at the head of a cavalry charge.

Despised as one of the worst genocidal tyrants to have ever lived; admired for building an empire that connected east and west; and worshipped by some in

Mongolia as a god, Genghis Khan has left his mark in nearly every civilisation. As well as the scars of his wars that still exist from Europe to China, it is said that one in 200 men alive today can trace their lineage back to him. His Empire may be long gone, but, in some way, he has achieved what he feared he never would - he has conquered the world. •



Has there ever been a greater conqueror than Genghis Khan?



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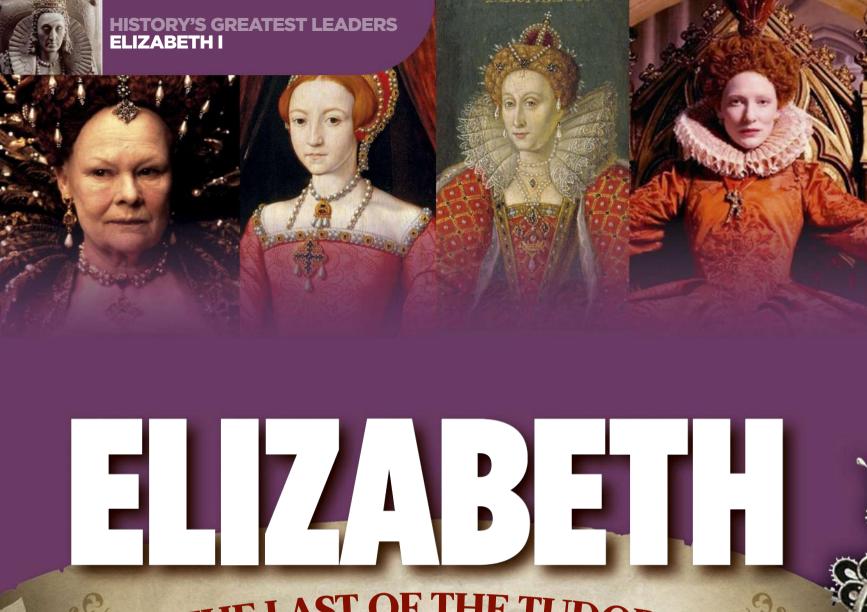
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# THE LAST OF THE TUDORS Behind the mask of England's enigmatic Queen

he is one of Britain's most iconic rulers – the last of the Tudor monarchs, she reigned for 44 years and saw England emerge as a key player on the world stage. But who was the real Elizabeth I? **Lottie Goldfinch** examines the Virgin Queen, whose youthful image and powerful persona helped mask a multitude of problems. From wars with Europe, to threats against the throne (and her life), and to the pursuit of everlasting beauty in the need to prove her strength, it was a challenging job for this lone queen, ruling in a man's world.



1

# **RISE TO POWER**

Elizabeth's journey to the throne was as much a fight for survival as it was for power

hen Anne Boleyn gave birth at Greenwich Palace on 7 September 1533, the world waited expectantly for news of a healthy baby boy - the male heir Henry VIII so desperately craved. A document announcing the arrival of the long-awaited prince had already been drawn up, but it would have to be amended. England's story changed forever with the arrival of a flame-haired baby girl - Elizabeth, named after her grandmothers.

The birth was a disappointment. Henry, who had annulled his 24-year marriage to Katherine of

Aragon – mother of his first child, Mary – and overhauled the country's religion to marry Anne, now had two daughters by two wives, but no legitimate son to secure the Tudor dynasty.

Elizabeth's life changed dramatically when, in May 1536, Anne Boleyn was beheaded on Tower Green. Now motherless, Elizabeth – aged just two years and eight months – was declared illegitimate and removed from the line of succession. Nevertheless, she was brought up in a style befitting a royal daughter. She received an impressive education – of the level normally reserved for male heirs – that included maths, languages, philosophy, music, needlework and art.

Henry, meanwhile, was continuing his quest for a male heir, and Elizabeth's half-brother, Edward, was born soon after his marriage to Jane Seymour. Famously, three more stepmothers followed in Jane's footsteps, and history repeated itself in 1542, when Henry's fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was beheaded. In eight years, Elizabeth had lost her mother and had three stepmothers – of whom two had been executed. It is then, at the age of eight, that she is said to have first declared she would never marry.

Elizabeth found relative happiness with Henry's final wife, Catherine Parr, who did much to reconcile Elizabeth and her elder sister Mary with their father and, in 1544, the sisters were reinstated in the line of succession, after Edward.

But Elizabeth's right to rule was in jeopardy once more when, in 1553,

Edward – now King – named his cousin Lady Jane Grey as his successor. Jane was proclaimed Queen after Edward's death on 6 July 1553, but ruled for just nine days before growing support for Mary persuaded her to relinquish the crown. Days later, Mary rode triumphantly into London to claim the throne, while Jane would become another victim of the executioner's blade.

A devout Catholic, Mary immediately set about reversing the religious reforms introduced by her father, leaving Elizabeth – a staunch Protestant – needing all her wits to survive the new regime. During Mary's increasingly unpopular rule, Elizabeth was twice accused of treason by her ever-more suspicious half-sister. After a fragile reconciliation, Elizabeth was finally named Mary's heir, and ascended the throne on 17 November 1558, after her half-sister's death. Elizabeth had survived.

# UNDER SUSPICION PRISONER OF THE CROWN

In 1553, nine days after Lady Jane Grey had been declared Queen, Mary rode into London with Elizabeth at her side. But, separated by age and religion, the public display of unity between the sisters was to be short-lived.

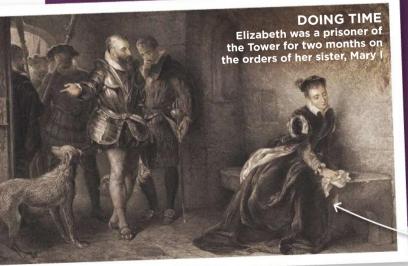
Although initially welcomed to the throne, Mary soon became a figure of unpopularity as she set about restoring Catholicism to England, persecuting those who refused to conform. As news of Mary's intention to marry Philip II of Spain spread, there was widespread concern that England would be dominated by Catholic Spain, and Elizabeth became a natural figurehead for those opposing the new regime.

A series of revolts and rebellions to depose Mary in favour of Elizabeth took place in early 1554, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, a nobleman with a hatred for Spain. Although it is unlikely that Elizabeth was involved, it was enough to alarm Mary who summoned her half-sister to court for interrogation and sentenced Wyatt to death.

Despite her protestations of innocence, Elizabeth was imprisoned in the Tower of London on 18 March. As she waited for the barge to take her to the Tower, Elizabeth wrote in desperation to Mary, declaring: "I never practised, concealed, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person..."

Elizabeth remained locked up in the Tower for two months until, with no real evidence against her, she was released and placed under house arrest at the Royal Manor at Woodstock

> in Oxfordshire, remaining there until April 1555. It was a deeply unhappy time for the young princess, who was confined to the manor grounds and watched closely. Eventually, she reconciled with her sister - reluctantly on Mary's part - and Elizabeth was allowed to return to her home at Hatfield. But Mary's distrust and resentment of her younger half-sibling remained strong.



### **LOCKED AWAY**

Elizabeth was brought to the Tower by boat, via **Traitors' Gate**, in heavy rain. Confined in Bell Tower, she was allowed to exercise by **walking along the battlements** that joined the Bell and Beauchamp Towers



# THE MARRIAGE QUESTION PLAYING THE FIELD

Within weeks of her accession, ambassadors were clamouring to press the suit of their masters upon Elizabeth. Philip II of Spain (widower of her half-sister Mary), Prince Frederick of Denmark, Prince Eric of Sweden and Charles IX of France were just a few of the suitors linked to Elizabeth. None except Philip II were refused outright; instead Elizabeth would play them off against each other – favouring one while she needed his country's help, but keeping others dangling in the meantime. She applied considerable skills to avoid marriage – she always

However, there was one whom Elizabeth favoured: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.
Appointed Master of the Horse after Elizabeth's accession, Dudley became the Queen's closest confidant, and rumours of an intimate kind surrounded the pair throughout Elizabeth's reign.

promised to consider the idea, even inviting foreign ambassadors to court to discuss the matter, but never committed.

Dudley pressed Elizabeth to marry him on many occasions, but she feared civil war would break out if she were to raise one nobleman above others. Whatever her feelings, she knew the match would not gain England a much-needed foreign ally. Nevertheless, the pair remained inseparable, and Elizabeth referred to him as her 'sweet Robin'. The sudden death, in 1560, of Dudley's wife, and rumours that he had orchestrated her demise, put an end to any serious ideas of marriage between the two. No queen could be embroiled in a potential murder scandal.

DID I COME ON TOO STRONG?

In July 1575, Elizabeth spent 19 days with Dudley at Kenilworth Castle. There, Dudley pulled out all the stops to win her hand in marriage – from building a new tower block where she could stay, to arranging

LOVE IS IN THE AIR?

MAIN: Elizabeth I and Robert Dudley enjoy each other's company at the Earl's Warwickshire home

RIGHT: Romance blossoms between the pair in the 1998 film Elizabeth

**DEATH OF A DYNASTY** 

# THE QUESTION OF AN HEIR

Elizabeth's refusal to name an heir was an ongoing concern for her councillors. If the Queen died without an heir, the country could be cast into a bloody civil war as rival factions fought for the throne.

In 1601, with Elizabeth still refusing to discuss the matter, the Queen's senior advisor, Robert Cecil, entered into secret negotiations with James VI of Scotland, son of Elizabeth's executed cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, to prepare in advance for a smooth accession.

Elizabeth's health began to fail in February 1603 and she died on 24 March that year. Whether she formally named James as heir is still debated but it is generally accepted that, unable to speak, Elizabeth made a hand sign indicating the Scottish King as her successor.

2

# THE VIRGIN QUEEN

The ultimate independent woman, Elizabeth refused to marry

rom the first days of her rule, Elizabeth came under intense pressure to marry. A female reigning alone was deemed unnatural and dangerous, and a queen, more than any woman, was seen to need a man to make political decisions, lead military campaigns and, most importantly, beget heirs.

Elizabeth was devoted to her country and to her subjects but successfully evaded marriage

1,000
The amount, in pounds, Elizabeth's 19-day stay with Dudley is said to have cost - per day!

throughout her reign, playing one suitor off against another in a bid to stay single, yet maintaining friendly international relations. "I have already joined myself in marriage to a husband, namely the kingdom of England," she declared to a frustrated Parliament in early 1559. Elizabeth's unwillingness to marry

has often been attributed to her traumatic childhood experiences, namely the fact that it was marriage to Henry VIII that had cost her mother, Anne Boleyn, her life. Elizabeth may not have wished to place her own fate in the hands of a husband.

TTY X2, MOVIE STILLS X1, BRIDGEMAN IMAGES X2

3

## PRACTICE MAKES

Ever prepared, Elizabeth wrote most of her **speeches herself** beforehand and practised their delivery.

# A WAY WITH WORDS

Elizabeth held her subjects in the palm of her hand

"I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too...

I myself will venter my royal blood; I myself will be your general, judge... I know that already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns, and I assure you in the word of a prince that you shall not fail of them."

Elizabeth I to her troops amid the Spanish attack, 9 August 1588

he defeat of the Spanish
Armada has gone down
in history as one of Britain's
greatest military achievements, and
Elizabeth's words to her troops, one
of the finest motivational speeches of
all time.

The Spanish fleet had been defeated the previous day, but the threat of an invasion from the Netherlands seemed highly likely, and some 4,000 men under Robert Dudley waited at Tilbury in Essex, ready to defend the Thames. Elizabeth appeared before her troops to rally them with her words and presence – for she understood the importance of being seen by her subjects – dressed in white, wearing a silver breastplate, and carrying the sword of state.

The way in which she played off her feminine and masculine qualities is typical of her speeches – entreating the men to protect their queen, the "weak and feeble

woman", yet assuring them of her courage and bravery, while evoking images of her powerful father, Henry VIII.

Elizabeth's way with words and her sense of occasion are well documented. At Tilbury, she called upon the soldiers' patriotism to fight for God, queen and country, while displaying gratitude for

their bravery, and playing to their greed by promising them riches and rewards. Cleverly drawing a line between herself and Philip II, she stated that she was willing to share the fate of her nation, willing "to live and die amongst you all". Elizabeth must have gained the hearts and

chivalric determination of many that day. Elizabeth was a true actor, and her words were among her most powerful tools. As a lone female in a man's world, she had to constantly reinforce her sovereignty,

to constantly reinforce her sovereignty, shaping her image through her oratory. Her speeches were carefully prepared and rehearsed, perfecting the tone, language

that a would not described but a distrust my fartifull and tourned proper with the ranks from the proper with the ranks from the proper with the ranks from the proper with the second many from and goodwill as my society which for I am com amounted by the first which my restation and plantage of ye bettle to feut and by amount to yet bettle to feut and by amount to yet bettle to four for my foods and for my time for my people myn honor and my blood turn in y differ thought of a weakly my thought of the woman but I have yo harte and so mark of a kinge and o



MAIN: The Tilbury speech was an artfully prepared piece of oration by Elizabeth I ABOVE: The warrior queen rides out to inspire her troops at Tilbury

and symbolism used. To those who heard her, it must have felt as if Elizabeth was speaking directly to them.

# CHARM OFFENSIVE Elizabeth greets Dutch ambassadors - her charm was recognised across the world

### **POLITICAL TACTICS**

## QUEEN OF CONTROL

Elizabeth was a political puppeteer, perfectly capable of switching her attentions from person to person to get the behaviour she wanted. As well as with her many suitors, she also practiced this with her aides and politicians.

At the same time as playing the pure-and-innocent role, Elizabeth would use her feminine wiles to get her way and, sometimes, she would simply ignore the problem in hand. Advisor Sir William Cecil bore the brunt of her moods and indecision: in 1560, he almost resigned over her reluctance to approve an invasion of Scotland. In this Elizabeth relented, but she had an unshakeable belief in her divine right to rule: others could offer opinions, but any final decision was hers to make alone.

# HOW DO YOU SOLVE A PROBLEM LIKE MARY?

Mary was the daughter of James V of Scotland and the French Mary of Guise. In 1542, she became Queen of Scotland at just six days old. After a failed betrothal to Elizabeth's half-brother Edward, Mary married Francis, heir to the French throne, returning to Scotland in 1561 after his death. Elizabeth, a new monarch herself, was alarmed at Mary's return, fearing she would use her French connections to claim the throne of England. As the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister, Margaret Tudor, Mary was seen by many as a prime Catholic gueen for the English throne.

Scotland was predominately Protestant, and its new ruler was regarded with suspicion by some of her subjects. Elizabeth herself had stirred up trouble when, in February 1560, she made a treaty with Scottish nobles opposed to Scotland's French government - still under the regency of Mary of Guise – and sent troops to aid them. Although an uneasy truce had been achieved, the Queen of Scots never relinquished her claim to the English throne. Indeed, Mary's marriage in 1565 to her cousin Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, only strengthened her claim.

Mary's threat continued to hang over Elizabeth although, as queens and cousins, they kept up a pretence of friendliness. Many English Catholics, however, refused to recognise Elizabeth as their queen, believing her to be the illegitimate product of Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, a union they failed to recognise.

It seemed Mary had finally been brought under control when, in 1568, she fled to England, begging for Elizabeth's protection after being forced to abdicate by her Scottish nobles.

Mary was kept under house arrest in England for some 19 years, but even under lock and key, continued to cause problems for Elizabeth. Should Elizabeth free her troublesome cousin, a fellow monarch anointed by God, or should Mary be executed to put an end to her threats?

Elizabeth remained indecisive until, in 1586, Mary was found to have been plotting Elizabeth's demise with a group of English Catholics – led by Anthony Babington. Elizabeth gave into pressure from Parliament and reluctantly signed her cousin's death warrant. Mary was executed at Fotheringhay Castle in February 1587. Her son, James VI of Scotland, enjoyed a better relationship with Elizabeth; it was he who would ultimately unite the thrones of England and Scotland.



# **INNER CONFLICT**

Threats to Elizabeth's crown, and life, came from every direction – from family members to rebel nobles

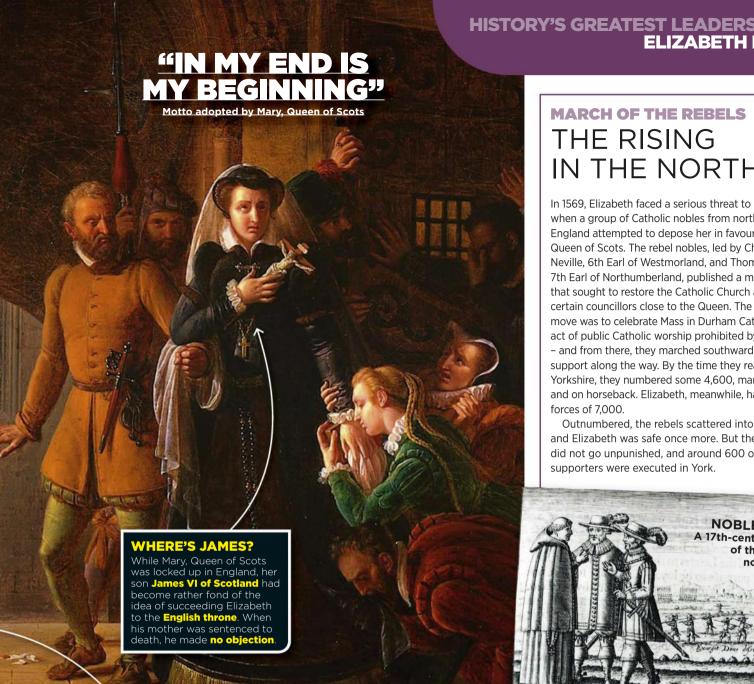
espite being known as the Golden Age, Elizabeth's reign was beset with problems. England had undergone years of religious upheaval since Henry VIII established himself as head of the Church of England, breaking with the Catholic Church in Rome. Since then, the country had been governed by a Protestant king, in Edward VI, then a Catholic queen, in Mary I. And now

Elizabeth, a Protestant queen, wanted to restore the Church of England once more. This caused untold problems, and required a deft hand.

England's immediate neighbour, Scotland, also caused Elizabeth considerable issues, mostly in the shape of her Catholic cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. The Scottish Queen was a natural focus for those opposing the changes introduced by

Elizabeth and her government. As such, there were a number of assassination attempts and plots against the English Queen throughout her reign.

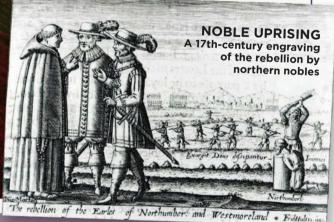
Elizabeth had also inherited considerable debts from the various wars entered into by her predecessors, and her very existence as a young, unmarried, female monarch was cause for concern across Europe. Hers was a troubled throne indeed.

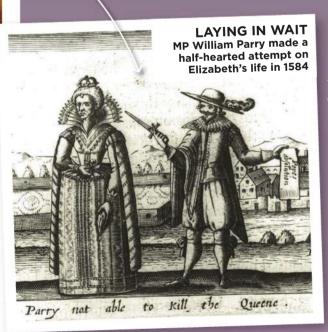


## **MARCH OF THE REBELS** THE RISING IN THE NORTH

In 1569, Elizabeth faced a serious threat to her rule when a group of Catholic nobles from northern England attempted to depose her in favour of Mary. Queen of Scots. The rebel nobles, led by Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland, and Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, published a manifesto that sought to restore the Catholic Church and remove certain councillors close to the Queen. The rebels' next move was to celebrate Mass in Durham Cathedral - an act of public Catholic worship prohibited by Elizabeth - and from there, they marched southward, gathering support along the way. By the time they reached Yorkshire, they numbered some 4,600, many armed and on horseback. Elizabeth, meanwhile, had raised forces of 7.000.

Outnumbered, the rebels scattered into Scotland and Elizabeth was safe once more. But the rebellion did not go unpunished, and around 600 of Mary's supporters were executed in York.





### **DODGING DEATH** THE SECRET SERVICE

The threat of assassination was a constant cloud over Elizabeth's reign, but she had an army of men working in secret to guarantee her safety. When Mary, Queen of Scots arrived in England, plots against Elizabeth

Aware that his Queen needed protection, William Cecil had enlisted the skills of Francis Walsingham in the 1570s. This ruthless, quickwitted Protestant lawyer became Elizabeth's chief 'spy master'. His network of informers constantly gathered information, and though a number of plots. One foiled



# THE WAR NEXT DOOR

ABOVE: Irish rebel Hugh O'Neill, c1590 RIGHT: English forces **Battle of Yellow Ford** 

# are defeated at the

### **EIRE ASPIRE**

## TURNING IRELAND ENGLISH

At Elizabeth's accession, Ireland was a troublesome mixture of Gaelic and English in both the political and cultural senses. The west and north of the country was predominately Gaelic, ruled by various clans and chieftans, while Dublin and the south were mainly loyal to the English crown. Turning Ireland English was one of the Tudor dynasty's most difficult tasks.

Henry VIII had declared himself King of Ireland in 1541, and bribed many Irish warlords to adopt English ways. Edward VI and Mary I had both tried to extend English rule with little success. Elizabeth on the other hand, chose to delay any real attempts to Anglicise the country, preferring to be dictated by events as they arose. But an escalation in violence, from 1579, directed against English rule, forced the Queen's hand.

In the 1590s, a group of Gaelic Irish chieftains - led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone - rebelled against renewed attempts to bring Ireland under English control. Some 8,000 men were enlisted to O'Neill's campaign, aided by forces provided by Philip II of Spain. It was a force capable of matching Elizabeth's army in the field, as it proved during a clash at Yellow Ford, Ulster, in 1598 - England's worst-ever defeat on Irish soil.



Netherlands as Dutch rebels fought to free themselves from the rule of Philip II of Spain, who was attempting to clamp down on the spread of Calvinism (a branch of Protestantism) in several regions. As a Protestant, Elizabeth was sympathetic to the Dutch plight and, in 1585, sent an English army of more than 4,000 men led by Robert Dudley to aid the rebel cause

The move was risky. Although the English had been secretly supporting the Dutch for many years, public support of the revolt could provoke Spain into war with England. A diplomatic solution was required and, with this in mind, Elizabeth entered into secret peace talks with Spain, while continuing to provide military support to the Dutch rebels.

cause, the English campaign faltered and Dudley finally returned to England.



When Elizabeth acceded the throne in 1558, England was at war with its traditional enemy France. Under Mary I, England had been forced to surrender Calais, its last territory in France, and the loss was a bitter blow. With no resources to continue Mary's battle to retake Calais, Elizabeth reluctantly conceded its loss in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559.

Tensions renewed between the two countries when France supported Mary, Queen of Scots' claim to the English throne, but with the death of the Scottish Queen's

**DUCAL DALLIANCE** 

enamoured of the young

French Duke - nicknaming him her **'frog'** after he gave her a frog-shaped earring.

suitors to court her in person, despite their 22-year age gap

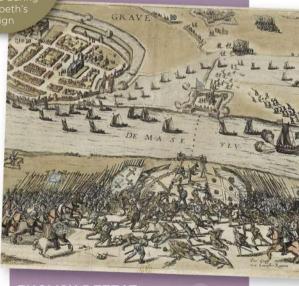
mother - the French regent Mary of Guise For a while Elizabeth seemed - in 1560, Elizabeth was finally able to

negotiate, and the Treaty of Edinburgh in July 1560 saw the end of French rule in Scotland and the subsequent withdrawal of French troops.

Elizabeth was a shrewd ruler, however, and knew that she needed to ally with France to counter an even greater enemy: Spain, whose ruler, Philip II, wished to restore the Catholic faith to England.

In the 1570s, to advance the relationship between the countries even further, Elizabeth entered into marriage negotiations with Francis, Duke of Alençon (Duke of Anjou from 1576), son of Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother of France, and brother to the French king.

Although the pair did not marry, the long courtship ensured that the two countries remained friendly and united against a common enemy.



### ENGLISH DEFEAT

Dudley's forces are defeated at Grave, the Netherlands, 1586. The Dutch campaign was far from Dudley's moment of glory

THE SPANISH ARMADA



# THE SPANISH ARMADA

# England was under attack from a man with a plan...

uch of Elizabeth's foreign policy centred on Spain - then Europe's most powerful country. The two countries were officially at war from 1585 until after the Queen's reign. Elizabeth, along with other European powers, sought to control Philip II and the Catholic threat he posed. Philip, on the other hand, considered Elizabeth a heretic, and felt a sense of moral obligation to protect English Catholicism.

The two countries had been briefly united by the marriage of Mary I and Philip II in 1554, but any influence Philip may have had over England ended with Mary's death four years later, and his subsequent offer of marriage to Elizabeth had been refused outright soon after her accession.

Nevertheless, Philip was determined to complete what he described as his 'Enterprise of England' and, by late 1585, had decided upon his

invasion plans: he would send a huge fleet of ships to the Netherlands, where the Duke of Parma was commanding the Spanish army during its attempted conquest of that country. Once the Armada had reached the Netherlands, the huge ships would ferry Parma and his army to England where they would put an end to English resistance once and for all...



Mary I and Philip II of Spain were married in 1554. Mary adored her husband but for Philip the union was more about political gain

# BATTLE SHIPS

England's navy meets the 'invincible' fleet at Gravelines

When Philip II launched his Armada against Elizabeth in 1588, he was confident of success. Spanish ships numbered up to 150 vessels – the largest fleet ever seen in Europe – and Philip's army and navy totalled some 30,000 men. He seemed invincible. But English naval tactics and a ferocious Atlantic storm saw the Spanish ships all but destroyed, and less than half of Philip's original fleet made it home to Spain. It was England's – and Elizabeth's – finest hour.

# FACE OFF ENGLAND V SPAIN

Two men had responsibility for the failure or success of their respective fleets in 1588...



### **Sir Francis Drake**

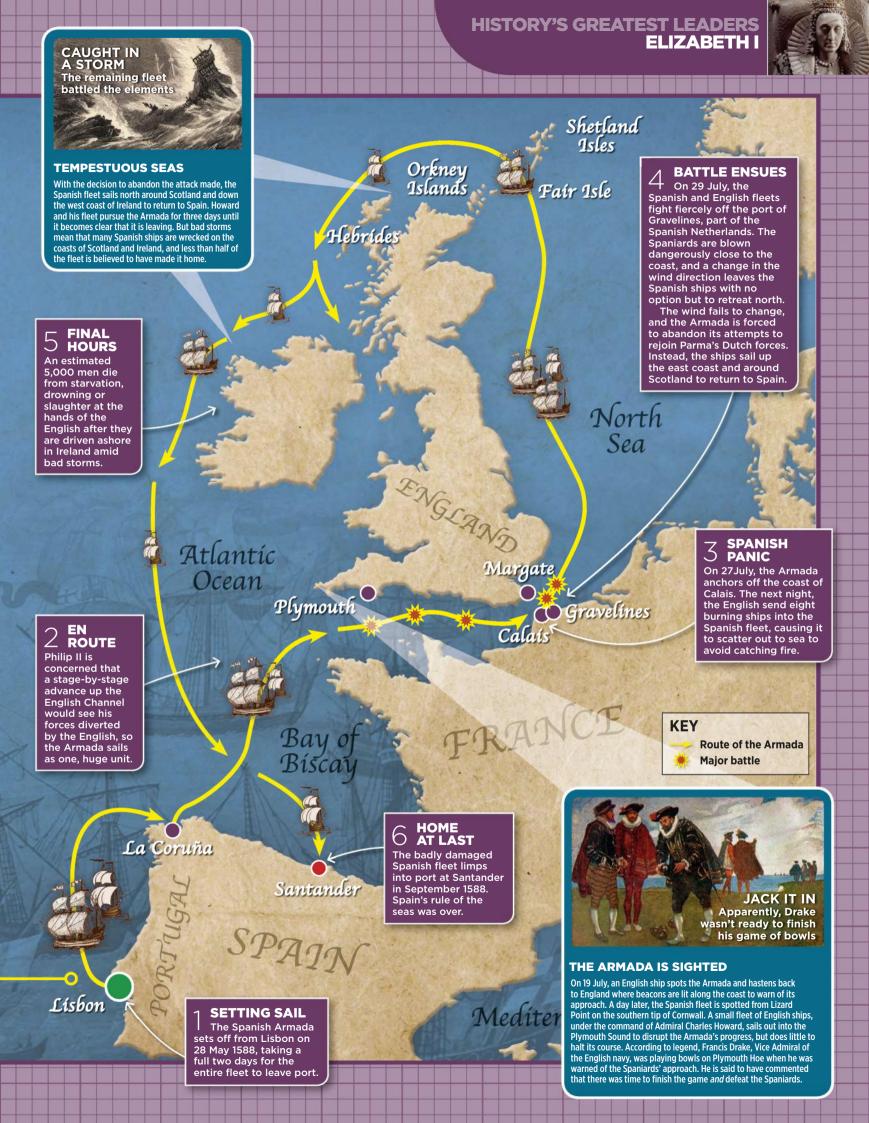
Sailor and explorer Francis Drake was a favourite of Elizabeth I. Vice Admiral of the English fleet against the Armada, he was notorious for his flamboyance and cavalier attitude, and was integral to English success at the Battle of Gravelines.

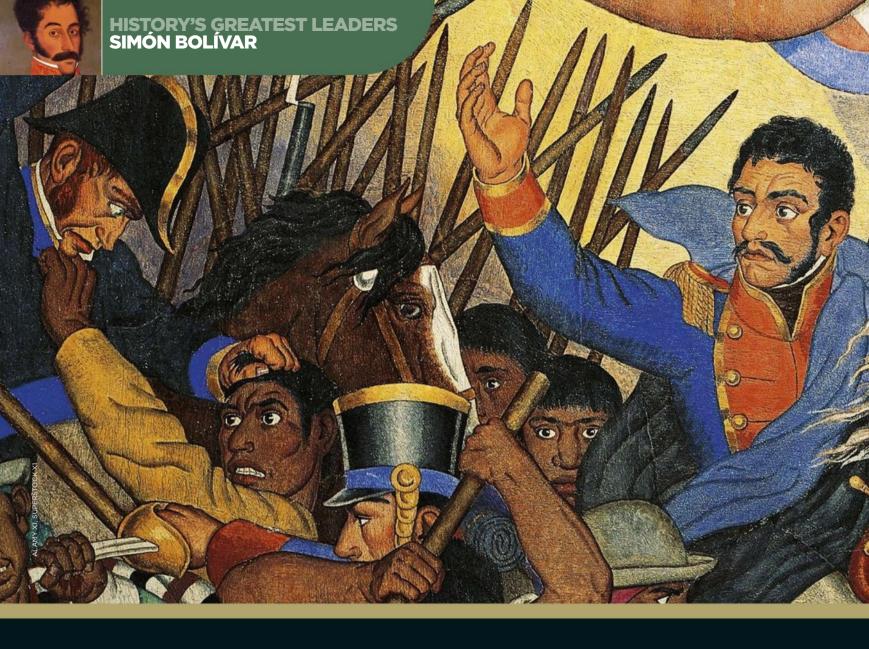


### **Duke of Medina Sidonia**

One of the richest men in Spain, the Duke was given command of the Spanish fleet three months before it sailed, after the former commander died. His inexperience is well recorded, but he made it back to Spain alive.



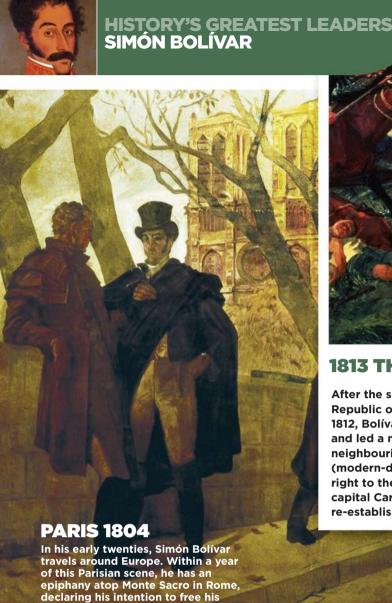




# SIMÓN BOLÍVAR THE GREAT LIBERATOR

The campaign to end Spanish colonial rule in Latin America actually has its origins in Europe, on top of one of Rome's many hills, explains **Nige Tassell** 





### 1813 THE ADMIRABLE CAMPAIGN

After the short-lived First Republic of Venezuela in 1812. Bolívar regrouped and led a march from neighbouring New Granada (modern-day Colombia) right to the Venezuelan capital Caracas in order to re-establish the republic.

On the way, in the city of Truiillo. Bolivar issues his Decree of War to the Death: "Spaniards and Canarians, count on death, even if indifferent, if you do not actively work in favour of the independence of America."

> Simón Bolívar's statue in Kingston, Jamaica

his was an unlikely location and he was an unlikely revolutionary. Yet from his vantage point on the Roman hill of Monte Sacro, on a hot August day in 1805, a wealthy young Venezuelan by the name of Simón Bolívar announced his intention to fight for independence for his home country, to form a republic free to determine its own future.

native Venezuela from Spanish rule.

Gazing down over the remnants and ruins of the Roman Empire, the 22-year-old Bolívar held out his arm and made a pronouncement that would directly shape the future of an entire continent. He had no pulpit to speak from, no mass audience hushed to hear every word. "I swear before you," the young idealist announced to his sole travelling companion, "that I will not let my arm rest, not give my soul repose, until I have broken the chains that oppress us by order of the Spanish authorities." From this vantage point - and with the clear eyes that distance provides - the young idealist dedicated himself to the dissolution of colonial rule in South America many thousands of miles away. Little would Bolívar have known that, two centuries later, he would still be seen as the godfather of Latin America as we know it today.

Born into privilege and wealth in Caracas in 1783, the young Simón José Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad Bolívar y Palacios Ponte y Blanco was orphaned at a young age; his colonel father passed away when the infant was only two years old, while his mother died before he reached the age of nine.

The premature deaths of both parents changed the direction of Bolívar's life - and therefore became highly significant to Latin American history. After a number of ill-fitting guardianships, he was placed under the tutelage of Don Simón Rodríguez, the mentor who would - through the works of great libertarian thinkers like Locke, Rousseau and Montesquieu - expose this man of privilege to the notion of universal liberty and freedom. Indeed, it was Rodríguez who was the travelling companion on that summer's day in Rome, the tutor whose influence came to yield, over the next two decades, extraordinary fruit.

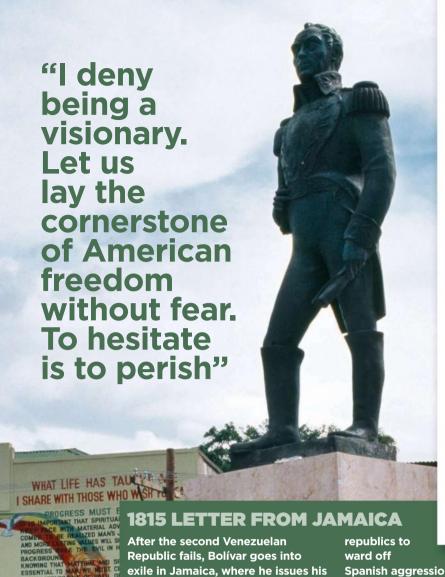
### THE FIRST REVOLT

After his extensive travels in Europe, in 1807 Bolívar - by then a widower, despite his tender years - returned to his native Venezuela where, having had extensive military training as a teenager, he took command of an army unit. Three years later, the Spanish authorities in Caracas were overthrown and a junta established. In search of both recognition of the independence cause and arms to fortify the struggle, Bolívar returned to Europe. While unsuccessful in his primary purpose, he arrived back in South America with Francisco de Miranda, a pro-independence activist living in exile in Britain, who would become head of the republic when Venezuela's independence was

HUGO CHAVEZ, FORMER PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA

"I'm far from comparing myself with our father Bolívar. I'm a microscopic soldier next to the giant"





1819 BATTLE OF BOYACÁ

A key battle in the fight for the independence of New Granada, the republican forces - bolstered by British and Irish veterans of the Napoleonic Wars - defeat the Spanish, more than half of whom are taken prisoner. The road to Bogotá - and independence - is no largely unguarded. The day of the battle, 7 August, remains a national holiday in Colombia.



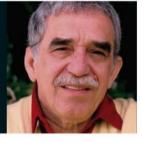
Carta de Jamaica (Letter From

Jamaica). The despatch has several purposes, among them the detailing of a union of South American

Spanish aggression. The letter is also a thinly veiled invitation for Britain, the most powerful nation of the time, to add its weight to the campaign for independence.

GABRIEL GARCIA MARQUEZ. **COLOMBIAN WRITER** 

"Bolívar imagined Latin America as an autonomous and unified alliance. He had a very nice phrase for it - 'We are like a small mankind of our own'''



declared in 1811. But this First Republic was short-lived. With power split across a federal system of government, royalist factions loyal to the Spanish were able to undermine republican unity, and colonial rule returned in August 1812.

Bolívar himself became a key player in the struggle to restore the Venezuelan republic. While exiled in Cartagena in neighbouring New Granada, he formally reiterated his ambitions for the overthrow of Spanish rule in his Cartagena Manifesto. In 1813, as head of a New Granadan military force, Bolívar led the Admirable Campaign, an overpowering march on Caracas that resulted in the Second Venezuelan Republic. Again, though, royalist forces regrouped and retook the Venezuelan capital the following year.

This military and political see-sawing was becoming familiar. Another Bolívar-led campaign, this time in New Granada, saw his forces take control of Bogotá in late 1814; however, within a few months, royalist advances forced him into exile again, this time in the sanctity of the Caribbean. While there, Bolívar wrote his famous Letter From Jamaica, in which he outlined his vision for South America and the desired political landscape in the postcolonial world. It was one that held pragmatism ahead of idealism: "Do not adopt the best system of government," he wrote, "but the one that is most likely to succeed."

In order to achieve his goals, Bolívar set about persuading foreign powers to offer up aid for his assault on the might of the Spanish Empire. His

campaigning was largely unsuccessful, save for assistance offered by Haiti, a republic previously colonised by both Spain and France. Returning to Venezuela with these Haitian materials and manpower, Bolívar quickly established himself as the leader of the independence movement, unafraid to show his strength among his contemporaries (an example being the execution of fellow high-ranking republican Manuel Piar).

With a Third Republic soon declared and Bolívar sworn in as President, he was determined to maintain the momentum of independence, setting his sights on the liberation of New Granada. Leading a modest army over the border, the campaign saw arguably his most famous military victory, at the Battle of Boyacá, where a large swathe of royalist soldiers surrendered. With Bogotá and the rest of New Granada soon under republican control, Bolívar drew up a blueprint for the union of Venezuela and New Granada to create a new country - Gran Colombia. Ratified in 1819, Bolívar was elected head of state.

After the Spanish withdrawal from Colombia - and as with later independence movements, such as in Africa in the early 1960s or Eastern Europe at the turn of the 1990s – the tide gates opened for other countries to declare an end to colonial rule. Although not inevitable - and only achieved by sharp military thinking and heavy bloodshed - the dominoes toppled in a comparatively short space of time. In





1822, the end of Spanish rule in Ecuador saw the newly independent territory added to Gran Colombia. Two years later, Bolívar-led forces liberated Peru, where its congress declared the Venezuelan to be the new republic's leader, making him simultaneously the head of state of two South American nations. In addition, the subsequent liberation of Upper Peru led to the formation of the Republic of Bolívar – what we now know as Bolivia.

### **INIQUITY AND DISPARITY**

With separate republican forces liberating Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, Spanish rule had been erased from South America. But unifying Gran Colombia, spread over a large geographical area, was a difficult task. Furthermore, the socio-political changes that Bolívar drew up couldn't necessarily be described as particularly revolutionary. Boxed-in by the political lie of the land, he couldn't jeopardise this new-found independence by overhauling society and incurring the wrath of the still-economically dominant elites. South America remained pockmarked by iniquity and disparity. In 1828, Bolívar - with an almost audible sigh - wrote of his frustrations. "In Colombia, there is an aristocracy of rank, office and wealth, equivalent by its influence, its pretensions and its pressure on the people, to the most despotic aristocracy of titles and birth in Europe... In spite of all

their liberalism, they prefer to regard the lower classes as their perpetual serfs."

Bolívar's political manoeuvring was often a wobbly tightrope walk between offering democracy and retaining the singularity of authority. If idealism loaded the gun, it was pragmatism that fired the trigger. An early illustration of this is found when one analyses his approach to the issue of slavery during the wars of independence. Although undoubtedly an abolitionist, Bolívar nonetheless tied slaves' freedom to conscription into his armed forces to bulk up his troops in the fight against royalist forces loyal to Spain. Political theory rarely dovetailed with the realpolitik.

Bolívar was never a believer in pure democracy, increasingly advocating life-long presidencies and the right to appoint successors. The president of any political system should be, he believed, "the Sun which, fixed in its orbit, imparts life to the Universe". The Great Liberator was offering only partial liberation, believing elections to be "the greatest scourge of republics [that] produce only anarchy".

Indeed, Bolívar would go one step further. In 1828, in an attempt to prevent the splintering of Gran Colombia and strengthen the central government's hand, he named himself dictator, a move that merely stoked the dissatisfaction of his opponents and made him the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt.

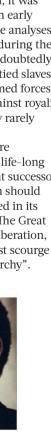
But, despite the ultimate dissolution of

tuberculosis, the same year that Gran Colombia fractures and splits

But, despite the ultimate dissolution of Gran Colombia in 1830, Bolívar will be forever remembered as the principal driver of South American independence, the architect of the continent's post-colonial identity. Six countries – Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia – owe their self-determination both to his theories of pan-Americanism and to his military strategy in overpowering the Spanish.

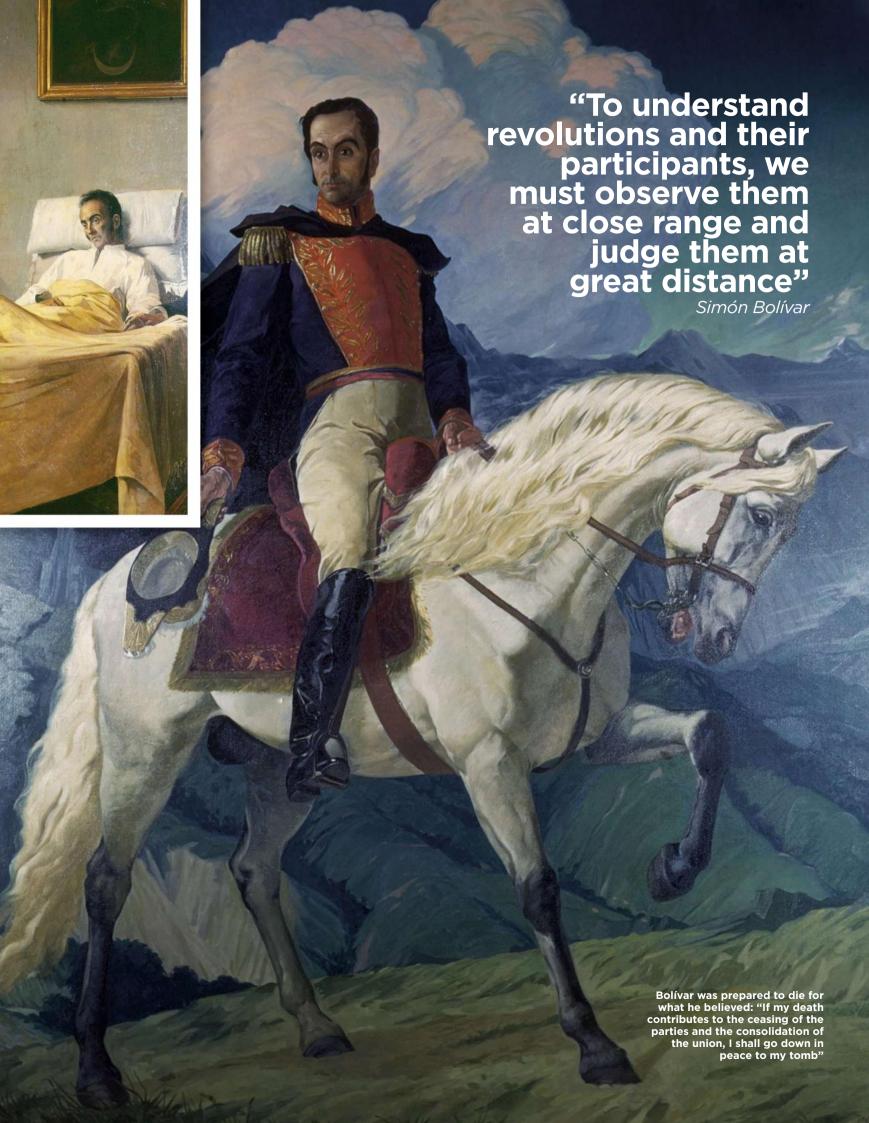
But when he died from tuberculosis in December 1830 at the age of 47, Bolívar was embittered by thwarted ambition. The idealism so passionately articulated by the young man on that Rome hillside 25 years earlier had been tempered and soured. But throughout his struggles, Bolívar's commitment hadn't wavered an inch, his hands-on style of leadership driven by both reason and passion.

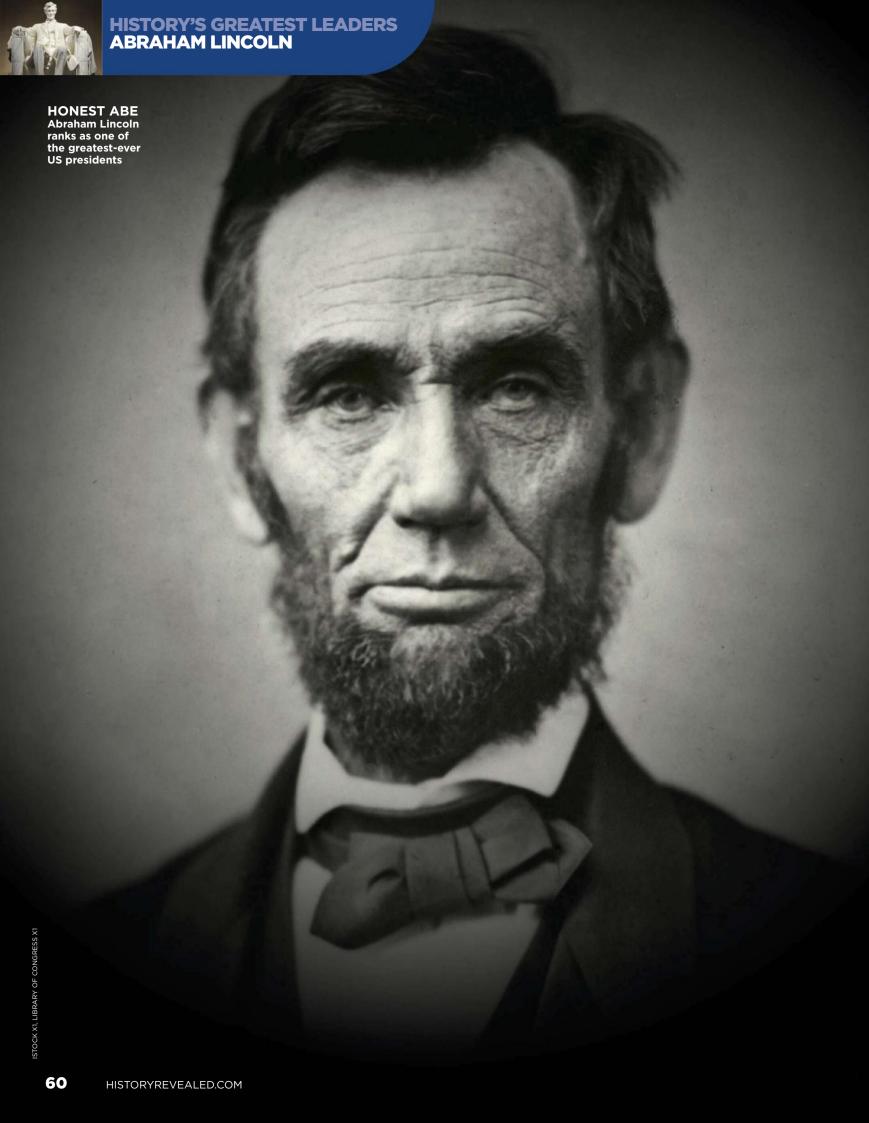
Streets, squares, cities, countries and currencies continue to be named after this son of Caracas. His were an action-packed 47 years, a life defined by commitment and dedication to the cause. He fought until the last, as recalled by his confidant Daniel F O'Leary, who likened the final hours of the great Venezuelan to "the last embers of an expiring volcano, the dust of the Andes still on his garments". •





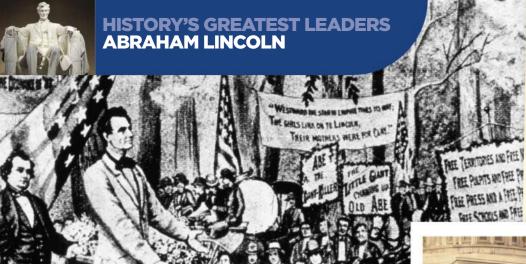






# ABRAHAM LINCOLN FROM RAIL SPLITTER TO GREAT EMANCIPATOR

Jonny Wilkes investigates how Abraham Lincoln – in paying the ultimate sacrifice for his country - became a symbol of hope for all people



### APRIL 1861 THE FIRST SHOTS

On 12 April, Confederate forces fire shells on the besieged Union-held Fort Sumter in South Carolina's Charleston Harbour, after Lincoln announces his intentions to resupply the sea fort. The bombardment fizzles out after 34 hours, with no casualties other than a fort mule, but the incident signals the start of the American Civil War.





### ADMENT OF FORT SUMTER BY THE

### AUGUST-OCTOBER 1858 DOUGLAS DEBATES

The tall, slim country lawyer Abraham Lincoln faces the incumbent senator for Illinois, the short and stout Stephen Douglas, in an ultimately futile campaign. Across seven intense debates, the two clash over slavery in the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, with Lincoln's passionate opposition earning him national recognition.

hat does Abraham
Lincoln mean to us
today? In the century
and a half or so since
his assassination
and the end of the

American Civil War, countless images of the 16th President of the United States have been endlessly shaped, discussed and celebrated.

So should we remember him as the great statesman whose actions of freeing the slaves and preserving the union have come to define the US? Is he the eloquent orator whose words and speeches, without the stain of ego or self-interest, continue to inspire? Or is it right to look past his deeds and commend the man – the slightly awkward figure too tall for his time, with a wicked sense of humour, a humble outlook on life and, of course, his signature beard, stovepipe hat and the familiar creases of worry permanently etched into his face?

Lincoln's image has transcended the reality of his mortal life and actions so that he isn't just the great emancipator and saviour of the

union, but the very embodiment of democracy, the exemplification of an ideal United States and the supreme martyr.

It was in the crucible of the American Civil War where these immortal reputations were forged. Lincoln spent four gruelling years – the last of his life – driven, almost obsessively, by one goal. The war didn't begin as a moral crusade against the evils of slavery. In Lincoln's eyes, the ultimate aim was always to keep the country united. He was willing to go to extreme measures and pay a heavy price to achieve it, and that unwavering commitment and sacrifice

### NOVEMBER 1860 SPLIT OPINION

As the Republican Party candidate, Lincoln takes on Douglas again, this time for the presidency. Thanks to his support in the North, which holds far more influence in presidential elections than the South, Lincoln wins comfortably on 6 November. Before he takes office in March 1861, however, seven southern states secede and form the Confederate States of America.

laid the foundations for the global power of the US in the 20th century.

### **DISUNITED STATES**

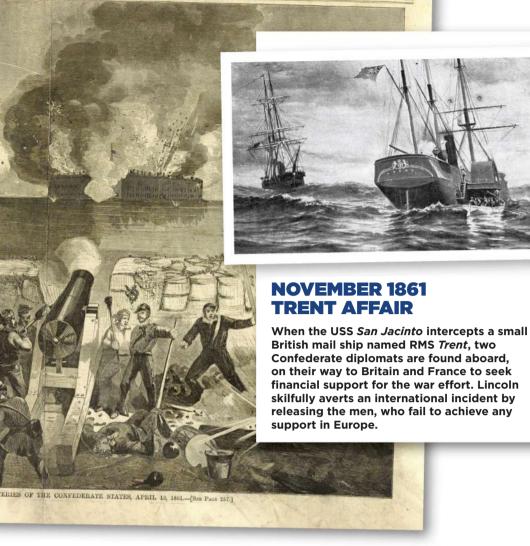
For years before the war, the country was divided by the issue of slavery. Businessmen and politicians in the South, the cotton-producing hub of the world, were angered by progressive voices from the North, one of which was Lincoln. Although no abolitionist, he was an anti-slavery advocate. As someone who grew up on the frontiers – a tough, meagre existence where everyone worked for themselves – Lincoln was uncomfortable that slavery benefited from the labour of others. It was a pragmatic view that he held for some 20 years spent either as a successful country lawyer in Illinois or as an elected official before rising to national prominence in 1858.

When Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, which allowed the extension of slavery to new territories, Lincoln spoke out against

# BARACK OBAMA, 44TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

"In his rise from poverty, his capacity to overcome loss and remain determined in the face of defeat – we see a fundamental element of the American character."





the legislation, most famously declaring that "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe the government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Lincoln espoused his fervent opposition in his widely circulated debates against Douglas (a masterclass in his oratorical skills), which earned him the presidential nomination for the newly formed Republican Party. This was the last provocation the South was going to stand.

### THE SOUTH RISES UP

Between Lincoln's election victory on 6 November 1860 and his inauguration four months later, South Carolina and six other states seceded from the Union and created their own republic, the Confederate States of America. These seven were later joined by four further slave states. The President-elect had three options to deal with this schism - accept it, make sweeping concessions to the South, or refuse to recognise the Confederacy's legitimacy. For Lincoln, division was "the essence of anarchy" and a threat to the free government and liberty on which the US was built. So it came as little surprise when he vowed to "make one vast grave yard of the valley of the Mississippi - yes of the whole South, if I must – to maintain, preserve, and defend the Union and Constitution in all their ancient integrity". And so began the deadliest chapter in US history.

From the opening salvo at Fort Sumter in April 1861 to the surrender of the Confederate forces by General Robert E Lee in April 1865, it's estimated that approximately 750,000 men, women and children died as fierce fighting spread across the country. Initially, the North had believed that one major victory would be all that was needed to knock the stuffing out of the rebellious southerners. They had superior numbers and all the resources to sustain a war in the industrial age, from factories to newspapers.

But in the first major Battle at Bull Run in July 1861, Union forces were humiliated.

# "If I were two-faced, would I be wearing this one?"

Abraham Lincoln

Congressmen and their wives, who had accompanied the army with picnic hampers to enjoy the spectacle, were forced to flee when the ramshackle Union troops retreated.

As battles raged throughout 1862, Lincoln worked to be a powerful commander-in-chief. Other than a stint as captain of a militia in the 1830s, he had little military experience but, much the same way he taught himself to read, write and grasp the basics of law, Lincoln learned military tactics by reading voraciously. He woke before dawn and spent hours in

## SELF-MADE MAN FROM A LOG CABIN TO THE WHITE HOUSE

As President, Abraham Lincoln was always acutely mindful of the political advantage to be had from his rustic upbringing. He befuddled guests to the White House with quaint anecdotes of life on his father's farm as he built a reputation as a man of the people and a true American who lived and thrived from individual initiative and hard work.

Life was tough for a young
Abraham. Born 12 February 1809 in
a tiny log cabin in Kentucky, he
thoroughly disliked his days spent
clearing forests, splitting logs for rail
fences (one of his nicknames in later
life was 'the rail splitter') and
ploughing hard, dusty fields. He also
lived under the shadow of disease
and death, which was an all-toocommon feature of frontier life; he
lost his mother at the age of nine
and his teenage sister died during
childbirth in 1828.

Determined not to have the same life as his father, Lincoln taught himself to read and write. He would devour every book he could get and was able to recount whole chunks of Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible from memory. In the 1830s, he began teaching himself law, until he passed the bar in 1836.

telegraph offices awaiting news from his officers. Any bad news could send the President into a slump – vulnerable, as he was, to attacks of depression.

The powers of the federal government were

expanded, decisions were made without Congress, he suspended the legal precedent of *habeas corpus* – allowing him to arrest suspected Confederate sympathisers – and he introduced a new form of paper currency, the 'greenback', to pay for Union armies.

Arguably his greatest political achievement, though, was in

controlling his cabinet. He brought together rivals within the Republican Party, including the brilliant 'conservative' William H Seward as Secretary of State, and the star of the 'radical' faction, Salmon P Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury. Lincoln adroitly juggled his team of rivals, keeping everyone on side and on message.

On 22 September 1862, that message changed. Lincoln announced that if the opposition states had not returned to the Union by 1 January 1863, he would issue a proclamation freeing all the slaves in

# FREEDOM TO SLAVI

Whereas, the President of the United States did, on the first day of the present month, issue his Proclamation declaring "that all persons held as States in certain designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free," and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, would recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. And Whereas, the county of Frederick is included in the territory designated by the Proclamation of the President, in which the Staves should became free, therefore hereby notify the citizens of the city of Winchester, and of said County, of said Proclamation, and of my intention to maintain and enforce the sauc.

I expect all citizens to yield a ready compliance with the Proclamation of the Chief Executive, and I admonish all persons disposed to resist its peaceful enforcement, that upon manifesting such disposition by acts, they will be regarded as rebels in arms against the lawful authority of the Federal Government and dealt with accordingly.

All persons liberated by said Proclamation are admonished to abstain from all violence, and immediately betake themselves to useful occupations. Theofficers of this command are admonished and ordered to act in accordance with said proclamation and to yield their ready co-operation in its enforcement.

R. H. Milroy,

Jan. 5th, 1863.

### **JANUARY 1863** FREEING THE SLAVES

In a momentous move for Lincoln and the American Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation is issued on 1 January, freeing all slaves in Confederate-controlled regions. On signing the decree, Lincoln comments that "I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper". A year later, Congress passes the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery and freeing between three and four million black people.

Confederate territory. He had been waiting to drop the news of the Emancipation Proclamation for months, but Seward had persuaded him to wait until a great Union victory so that it wouldn't look like an act of desperation. It was a savvy move and the victory eventually came at Antietam, one of the largest and bloodiest battles of the war.

#### A UNITED GOAL

"My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery," Lincoln had declared earlier in the conflict. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it." Yet, the Emancipation Proclamation drastically changed the North's position in the war, so that preserving the Union and freeing the slaves were now the same goal. From that point on,

one couldn't be achieved without the other. That was the sentiment of Lincoln's iconic Gettysburg Address, where the President promised: "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom - and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the Earth."

**NOVEMBER 1863** 

"FOUR SCORE AND SEVEN YEARS AGO..."

In just 272 words, Lincoln delivers his Gettysburg Address – one of the

most symbolically important speeches in history - on 19 November, some four months after a Union victory at the bloody Battle of

Gettysburg. The speech was heard by only a few thousand people,

but was printed and distributed worldwide, offering a vision of a

reunited country, a place of liberty and equality.

There was also a practical benefit for Lincoln; 200,000 freed slaves joined the Union army to fight for the 'Great Emancipator', a significant factor in swaying the momentum from South to North. In April 1864, Lincoln's all-or-nothing commitment to saving the Union through emancipation bore more fruit as he cajoled Congress into passing the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the land.

By then, Lincoln also had the general he desperately wanted for the Union armies. Men such as George McClellan, Ambrose Burnside, Joseph Hooker and George Gordon Meade had all failed to implement the war Lincoln desired - a relentless attack that would stretch the Confederate forces and not let up until the job was done. But Ulysses S Grant impressed

the President and was given overall command in early 1864. It was Grant who accepted the Confederate surrender on 9 April 1865. But, even though the end of the horrific, costly war was finally in sight with the Union secured, Lincoln's work was far from done.

His second presidential election victory assured him that he was the man not just to save the Union from the brink, but to rebuild it, bigger and better. It was not to be. Having tasted peace in his still-united country for only five days, Lincoln was shot and killed by a fanatically loyal supporter of the South, John Wilkes Booth, while at the theatre. As the country mourned, sermons across the US preached of how Lincoln made the same sacrifice as Jesus Christ - dying for the absolution of the sins. Lincoln's body travelled from Washington DC to Illinois by train. Millions flocked to the rail tracks to watch it pass, weeping for the loss of 'Father Abraham'.

So, what does Abraham Lincoln mean to people today? Whether peering up at the Lincoln Memorial or at Mount Rushmore, or staring into the powerfully melancholic eyes of his photograph, it is easy to feel that here is a man who is now so much more than a man. Like the freed slaves who worshipped his name, many see Lincoln as an incorruptible symbol - a beacon for humankind. •

### STEVEN SPIELBERG, DIRECTOR OF LINCOLN (2012)

"The two great things he did, to end slavery and the Civil War, were for the good and in the name of the people. le put people ahead of politics."







To what extent was Lincoln's anti-slavery stance motivated by moral principles? email: editor@historyrevealed.com

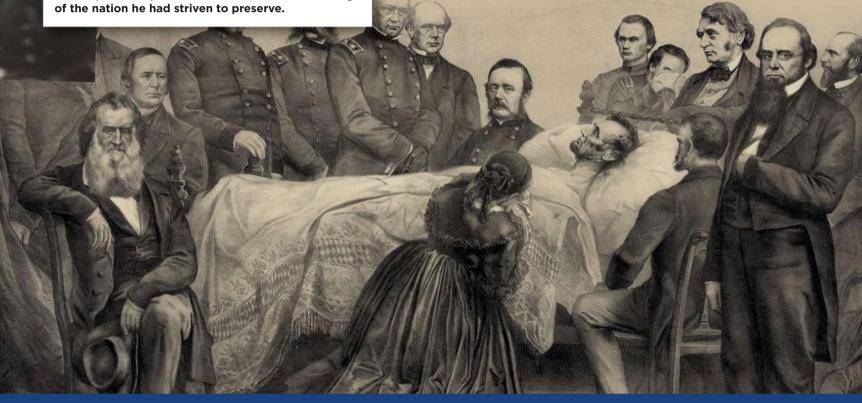


# MARCH 1865 REBUILDING THE COUNTRY

Having swept to a landslide re-election, Lincoln allows himself to look beyond the war and consider the reconstruction of the United States. His second inaugural address, a poetic powerhouse, declares: "With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in." Lincoln, however, wouldn't live to see the rebuilding of the nation he had striven to preserve

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Abraham Lincoln, the Gettysburg Address



# A NATION'S MARTYR "NOW HE BELONGS TO THE AGES"

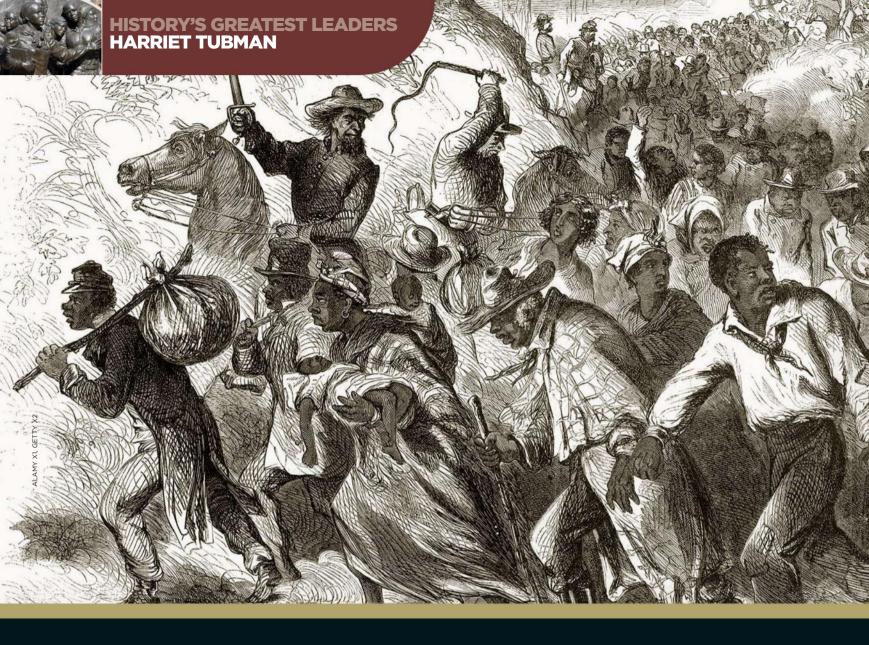
When Lincoln woke on 14 April 1865, he was in an unusually good mood. The war was over. Robert E Lee, commander of the Confederate Army, had surrendered at Appomattox five days earlier so, for the first time in four years, the burden of bloodshed and civil war wasn't pressing down on Lincoln's shoulders.

That evening, he went with his wife Mary to Ford's Theater in Washington DC to see the comedy *Our American Cousin*. Arriving

late, the performance was halted while the President took his seat in the state box to the sounds of the orchestra playing Hail to the Chief and a standing ovation. Lurking in the shadows, however, was Confederate sympathiser John Wilkes Booth, who had long planned to assassinate Lincoln. He crept up behind the President and fired a single bullet at point blank range into the back of his head. Booth leapt from the balcony, breaking his leg, before shouting

the Virginia state motto Sic Semper Tyrannis ('thus always to tyrants') and escaping – he remained on the run for 12 days before being found and killed.

Lincoln, still alive but unconscious, was taken across the street to Petersen House, where he died nine hours later. Among those at the President's bedside was Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, who is reported to have saluted and remarked, "Now he belongs to the ages".



# HARRIET TUBMAN

# MOSES OF HER PEOPLE

The Underground Railroad saved thousands from the hell of slavery, but one name will always stand out as the symbol of courage, selflessness and freedom, writes **Jonny Wilkes** 



he had escaped from hell. The hell of bondage, racism, terror, degradation, back-breaking work, beatings and whippings that marked the life of a slave in the United States. Harriet Tubman ran away from her Maryland plantation and trekked, alone, nearly 90 miles to reach the free state of Pennsylvania. The treacherous journey meant travelling at night through woods and across streams, with little food, and fearing anyone who would happily send her back to her owners to collect a reward.

If not for a clandestine network of routes and safe houses, organised to aid 'fugitive slaves' heading north, Tubman may have never made it to Philadelphia. "When I found I had crossed that line, I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person," she recalled of her 1849 escape. "There was such a glory over everything. The Sun came like gold through the trees and over the fields, and I felt like I was in heaven."

The Underground Railroad delivered Tubman to a place where she could live relatively safe from bondage, yet while others faced brutality and despair, she would risk her life as the network's most famous conductor. Tubman escaped hell, only to turn and walk back into it.

### **STRENGTH AND COURAGE**

Araminta Ross, Tubman's birth name, would have been put to work on her owners'

plantation in Dorchester County, Maryland, almost as soon as she learned to walk. Her eight brothers and sisters faced the same brutal introduction to their lives as slaves. The exhausting field work, and long hours of domestic service as a maid and later a cook, left her malnourished and occasionally ill. Like the millions of slaves in America, the young Minty became all-too familiar with horrific physical and emotional abuse from her masters. While working as a nursemaid at the age of just five or six – thought to have been around 1825-30 – she was whipped and beaten as punishment whenever the baby cried.

Yet from Minty's violent early years came a devout Christian faith, built on being read Bible stories by her mother, as well as a remarkable strength, courage and willingness to put herself in danger to help others. These qualities served her so well on the Underground Railroad, but almost led to her death as a child.

One day, when she had been sent to fetch supplies from a dry goods store, Minty found herself caught between a slave who had left his plantation without permission and his pursuing overseer. Not only did she refuse orders to help restrain the runaway, but she blocked the white man's path, causing him to hurl a heavy weight in frustration. It struck Minty in the

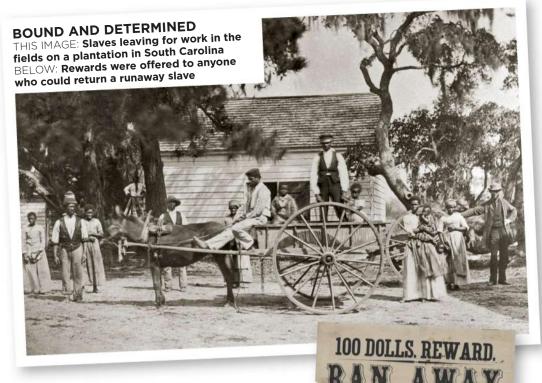
head, knocking her unconscious in a bloody heap. With no medical care forthcoming for a damaged slave, Minty suffered from seizures, sudden sleeping episodes similar to narcolepsy, and began having vivid religious visions. These continued throughout her life (although she claimed them to be premonitions from God). Her head injury elicited no sympathy from her owners, who put her right back to work following a failed attempt to sell her.

Years rolled by with no relief from the terrible conditions, though all the hours of hard labour made Minty surprisingly strong for her diminutive five-foot frame. It was about 1844 when she became Harriet Tubman – having married a free black named John Tubman and choosing to adopt her mother's first name – yet it was a further five years before she took her first steps to freedom.

What makes Tubman's escape from slavery more extraordinary is that she had to do it twice. On 17 September 1849, she headed north with two of her brothers, only to return to the plantation when Harry and Ben had second thoughts. Instead of going on without them, Tubman made sure they got back before making her second attempt. On foot, the 90-mile journey could have taken her anywhere between one and three weeks.

"Tubman escaped hell, only to turn and walk back into it"





But soon after reaching Philadelphia and proclaiming it to be "heaven", Tubman came to the realisation that her work had only just begun – she now wanted to rescue her family and friends from the evils of slavery too. So in 1850, she travelled back down to Maryland in order to bring back her niece Kessiah and her husband, and their two daughters.

That was the first of 13 trips Tubman made as a 'conductor' of the Underground Railroad over the next decade (some accounts say she went as many as 19 times). Her success with using and expanding the network to get escaped slaves to safety led leading abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison to call her "Moses of her people". It is thought that she rescued around 300 slaves directly – including some of her brothers, their families and her own parents – and gave instructions to help dozens more. Tubman used to boast that she never lost a single passenger.

Being a conductor meant walking through slavery territory, where she could be snatched by armed slave hunters, meaning Tubman voluntarily risked her life each time. It only became more dangerous with the Fugitive Slave Act, which meant escaped slaves could be captured in the North and returned to their owners. As this led to a rise in black people, slave and free, being abducted, even the free states increasingly became an unsafe final destination for the Underground Railroad. Tubman, therefore, had to find routes to Britishowned Canada. Yet her fortitude and belief that God watched over her never wavered. Fellow

conductor William Still once wrote of Tubman: "Great fears were entertained for her safety, but she seemed wholly devoid of personal fear."

Negro Boy Robert Porter

aged 19; heavy, stoutly made;

rather

chesnut complexion;

Dr. J. W. THOMAS.

sullen countenance, look; face large; head low on the believe he entered the Cit

Time and time again, the uneducated, illiterate Tubman proved her ingenuity to keep slaves in her care safe and fed on the long journey. She would often travel in winter, when the nights were longer, and set off with her 'passengers' on a Saturday evening – as runaway notices wouldn't appear in newspapers until Monday morning. While on route, Tubman carried a pistol, both for defence and to keep the slaves going. "You'll be free or die," became her resolute message.

Tubman became the Underground Railroad's most famous conductor, known to abolitionists and activists, such as John Brown. Before his doomed 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry in the hopes of sparking a slave revolt, he consulted who he

## RAILROAD RHYTHM CODED SONGS: MYTH OR REALITY?

There is a popular story about the Underground Railroad stating that songs had secret messages in the lyrics, which helped slaves find their way to freedom or act as a warning. So 'Follow the Drinkin' Gourd' actually refers to the North Star, 'Wade in the Water' is an instruction to hide, and the words 'I am bound for the land of Canaan' could be used by a slave to announce his or her intention to escape and head to Canada, their Canaan.

In her biography of Harriet Tubman, Sarah Hopkins Bradford names two songs that she used on the Railroad: 'Go Down Moses' and 'Bound for the Promised Land'. Tubman would later change the tempo to alter the meaning of the message.

There are historians, however, who question the idea that songs contained codes, saying that there is no clear evidence from the time and that the story originates not in the 19th century, but the 20th. A similar theory, which claims that quilts were made with certain patterns to represent hidden instructions, has also been questioned.

The truth remains unclear, and isn't helped by the fact that detailed records are sparse when it comes to the lives of slaves in America. Yet songs certainly formed a strong tradition for those in bondage, whether used as prayers (known as 'spirituals'), to offer a beat to their work or as oral history in a society where many were illiterate. They offered hope where there seemed to be none and a sense of community when everyone sang together.

dubbed 'General Tubman', and allegedly wanted her to be part of the attack. Such was Tubman's reputation that she bought a small piece of land near Auburn, New York – where she lived with her elderly parents, who she rescued in one of her final trips – from anti-slavery senator (and future Secretary of State under Abraham Lincoln) William H Seward.

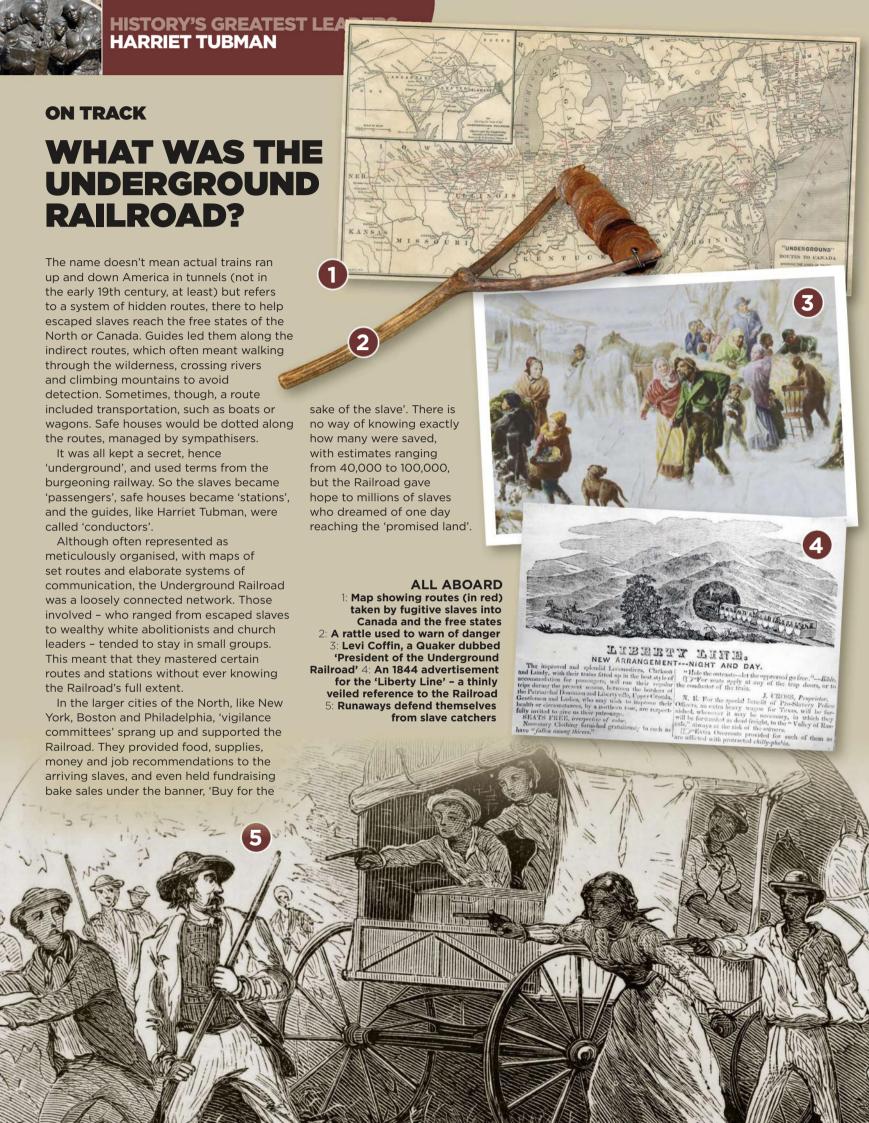
#### **HEROISM AND POVERTY**

Although the Underground Railroad essentially ended when the American Civil War broke out in 1861, it did not signal the last of Tubman's heroic deeds. Never thinking of her own wellbeing, she served in the Union Army as a cook, laundress and nurse, tending to wounded

# FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ABOLITIONIST AND FRIEND OF TUBMAN'S

"I know of no one who has willingly encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people"







# "The recent decision to put Tubman on the \$20 bill sees her join presidents and Founding Fathers"

 soldiers and fugitive slaves, who were referred to as 'contrabands'.

After Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation – laying the foundations for the abolition of slavery – Tubman led a band of scouts into Confederate territory, utilising the skills she had mastered as a conductor. The information that she gathered allowed Colonel James Montgomery to attack enemy positions with devastating effect, and saw her become the first woman to lead an armed assault. On 2 June 1863, Tubman guided Union steamboats along the Combahee River to raid plantations in South Carolina. More than 750 slaves were freed.

But what did Tubman receive for three years of loyal service? Such little pay that she had to support herself by selling homemade pies, ginger bread and root beer, and no compensation at all for three decades. Tubman spent years struggling in poverty, made only worse in 1873 when two men scammed her out of \$2,000, but that did not mean that she faded into obscurity. Still a popular symbol of the antislavery movement, she was the subject of two biographies (published in 1869 and 1886), with all of the proceeds going to help pay her bills.

Regardless of money troubles, Tubman continued to fight for others for the rest of her life. She gave speeches supporting women's suffrage, and was invited to be the keynote speaker at the first meeting of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896. Her Auburn home became a haven for orphans, the elderly and freed slaves looking for help, which

is how she met her second husband, a Civil War veteran named Nelson Davis. (Back in her conductor days, she had gone back to rescue John Tubman, but he had re-married.) Together, Tubman and Davis adopted a baby girl, Gertie.

Tubman's generosity led to the opening of the Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged on her land in 1908, just a few years before she became one of its patients. On 10 March 1913, she died of pneumonia, surrounded by family and friends. A devout Christian until the end, her final words were, "I go to prepare a place for you".

If her actions and achievements aren't testament enough, these last words perfectly capture a woman who dedicated her life to others, seeking no glory or fame in return. A woman who became an American icon by hiding in shadows. A woman who escaped the hell of being a slave and set about helping others to do the same.

Her friend, the revered abolitionist Frederick Douglass, once wrote to Tubman about her time as a conductor on the Underground Railroad: "Most that I have done and suffered in the service of our cause has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You, on the other hand, have labored in a private way. I have wrought in the day – you in the night." With the recent decision to put Tubman on the new \$20 bill, seeing her join presidents and Founding Fathers, it is only right for her labours to be forevermore public, in the day. •

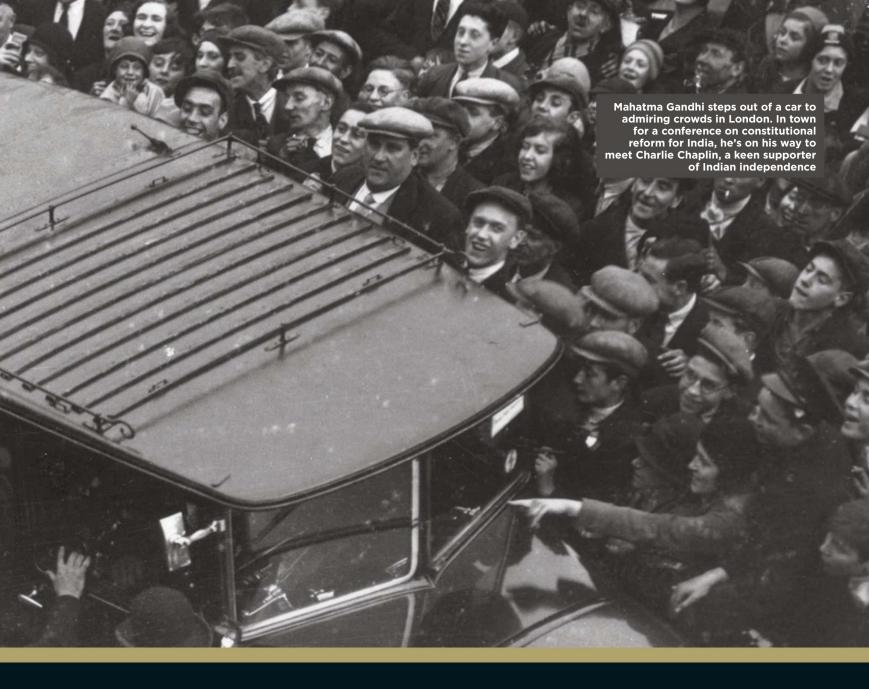
# BARACK OBAMA, FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

"Harriet Tubman is an American hero. She was... forever motivated by her love of... community and by her... abiding faith"



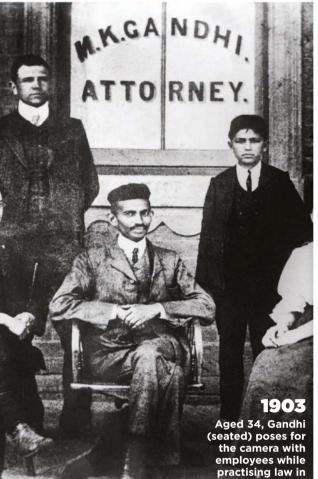






# MAHATMA GANDHI SPIRIT OF A NATION

The Mahatma's doctrine of peaceful protest saw him face prison time, violence and death, all for Indian independence, explains **Nige Tassell** 





#### **1930 THE SALT MARCH**

Gandhi leads a 24-day, 240-mile march against the British-imposed salt tax, resulting in non-violent civil disobedience on a massive scale.

The Salt March puts Gandhi - and 60,000 others - under arrest,

South Africa

but the point has been well and truly made, with widespread coverage in the world's media putting the issue of Indian independence at the top of the news agenda, steered by the publicitysavvy Mahatma.

espectacled, dressed simply in traditional Indian attire and with a pocket watch hanging from his waist, it was an unlikely folk hero who marched out that March morning in 1930. This 60-yearold nonetheless epitomised purpose and intent. Despite his thin, wiry physique - the product of both a frugal vegetarian diet and a tendency to undertake long fasts as a means of protest this curious figure flew off at a swift pace, his strides eating up the dry Gujarat landscape, kicking up dust with every step of his sandalled feet. He was known as Mahatma Gandhi, a man who, as confirmed by the tens of thousands of supporters saluting him along his way, carried the destiny of a nation on his modest shoulders.

Accompanied by 78 carefully picked supporters, this was the first day of what became known as the Salt March, a 24-day-long odyssey from Gandhi's home near Ahmedabad

to the coastal town of Dandi, 240 miles away. The march was the most symbolic gesture yet of Gandhi's principle of Satyagraha, a commitment to non-violent resistance against British colonial rule in India. Although the march was outwardly a direct protest against the tax levied by the British on the purchase of salt, it bore a much deeper resonance than a simple single-issue campaign. And Gandhi's supporters knew this; the march gathered huge numbers of supporters along its route. In each village they passed through, the marchers - with Gandhi invariably setting the pace at the front - were greeted by a cacophony of drums and cheers. The mood was simultaneously both celebratory and serious.

At journey's end on the Arabian Sea coastline, Gandhi put the principle of civil disobedience into practice. With the preparation of salt illegal under the repressive Salt Law, he grabbed a handful of mud. "With this salt," he declared,

"I am shaking the foundations of the Empire." Then, by boiling the mud in seawater to make salt, he implored his followers to do likewise. And they did, resulting in 60,000 Indians being arrested before the end of the year. The British authorities had clearly been rattled by this slight, fragile man of unremarkable origins.

#### **A BRITISH SUBJECT**

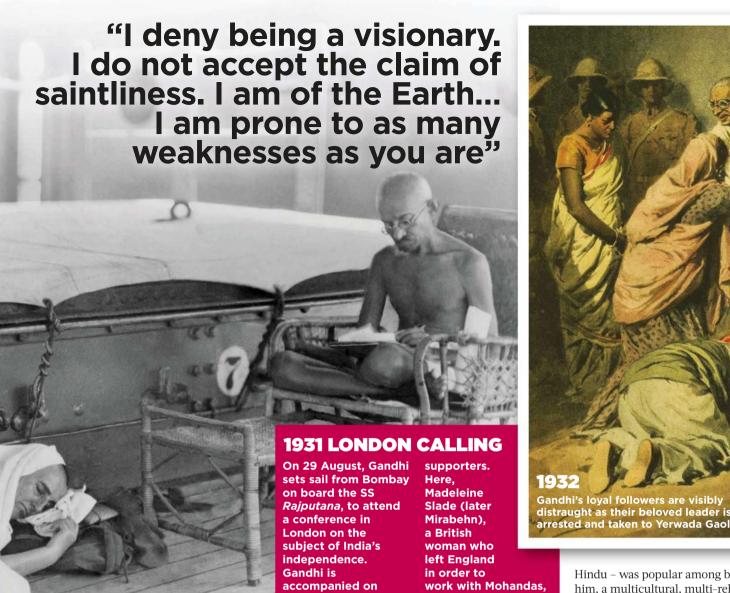
Born in 1869 in the eastern coastal city of Porbandar, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (the name 'Mahatma', meaning 'venerable', 'Great Soul', would be conferred on him later) wasn't the greatest scholar, but he did travel to Britain at the age of 18 to train to become a barrister. In 1891, Gandhi returned to India where he set up an unsuccessful law practice before accepting an offer to work as a legal representative for a Muslim Indian trade organisation in the South African capital of Pretoria.

Gandhi had retained a sense of duty to the British Empire and, during the Boer War of 1899-1902, commanded a group of Indian ambulance drivers where his bravery led him, and 37 of his compatriots, to receive the British Empire War Medal. But, in 1906, a massacre of Zulu forces by the British Army – known as the

#### **NELSON MANDELA**

"He exhorted morality when science, technology and the capitalist order had made it redundant..."





the voyage by his

friends and

secretaries, various

**BARACK OBAMA** 

"I might not be standing before you today, as President of the United States, had it not been for Gandhi and the message he shared..."



sleeps on deck while

**Gandhi prepares for** 

the meetings ahead.

Bambata Rebellion – forced Gandhi to strongly question his ties to the colonial power.

Previously too shy to speak effectively in public, Gandhi would blossom during his 21 years in South Africa, honing his communication, negotiation and political skills. It would also be where Gandhi would experience racial discrimination first-hand. On one occasion, he was ejected from a train for not relinquishing his first-class seat despite being in possession of a valid ticket. Another time, he was assaulted by the driver of a stagecoach for not conceding his place to a European passenger.

These episodes crystallised Gandhi's thoughts about colonialism. Suitably politicised, he fought the corner of Indian nationals in South Africa who were denied the vote, in the

process founding the Natal Indian Congress, an organisation aimed at uniting and politically mobilising the ex-pat community.

When he returned permanently to India in 1915, Gandhi's position as an Indian nationalist of international standing was undeniable and he quickly established himself in the cut and thrust of Indian politics. After the horrific carnage of the Amritsar Massacre, which saw the murder of at least 379 unarmed demonstrators at the Jallianwala Bagh city park by British and Gurkha troops, Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Congress Party in 1921, eager to unify Hindu and Muslim communities in their collective quest for the country's independence. Although tension between Hindus and Muslims ensured that the 1920s was a decade pockmarked by widespread religious rioting, Gandhi – born a

Hindu – was popular among both camps. For him, a multicultural, multi-religious base was vital in supplying impenetrable, country-wide opposition to imperialist rule.

Gandhi also believed that non-violent civil disobedience was the way to destabilise the British Raj, and advocated a mass boycott of British-made goods, along with calling for Indian nationals to remove themselves from positions in the civil service and the police force. Gandhi's campaign received widespread support, but he was soon arrested for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment – although ill health meant he was released after serving two.

#### **ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE**

Following his detention, Gandhi set about unifying the pro-independence movement, in the process moderating the views of more impatient activists like future prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. In December 1928, Gandhi issued the British authorities an ultimatum: grant India dominion status within a year or be prepared for a fresh campaign of civil disobedience. With no British response, the Indian flag was raised in Lahore the following December, while 26 January was designated Independence Day.

This new wave of non-cooperation took the final day of the 1930 Salt March as its defining moment, an event beamed across the world on newsreels. With such actions visibly



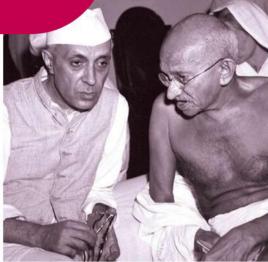




detrimental to their rule, the British entered into negotiations with Gandhi. The result was an agreement that allowed the release of all Indian political prisoners in return for the end of civil disobedience. Soon after, however, the British government hardened its stance towards Indian nationalism. Thousands of arrests were made, with Gandhi himself becoming no stranger to the police cell.

Arrests, imprisonments and fasts were regular features of his life during the 1930s. When World War II broke out at the end of the decade, Gandhi called for India to refuse to line up alongside British troops, citing the hypocrisy of fighting for democracy halfway across the world when the Indian people were denied democracy on their own doorstep. In 1942, the British offered a programme of staggered devolution in return for increased cooperation with the war effort. With the terms of the offer not fixed to any specific timeframe, Gandhi rejected it, describing it as "a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank". The offer turned out to be counter-productive; it intensified Indian efforts to force a British withdrawal, giving rise to the Quit India movement.

Quit India – the most conspicuous, most unambiguous campaign targeting the end of



#### 1942 QUIT INDIA

The campaign that ultimately leads - albeit against Gandhi's deeply held principle of religious unity - to the partitioning of India into two separate nations. The movement is launched on 8 August and the following day, Gandhi and other leaders of

the Indian National **Congress are** arrested by the British government. This move leads to a number of non-violent demonstrations across the country. Most of the disorder is suppressed by the time Gandhi is released from prison in 1944.



**Two Muslim Indians** carry black pennants demonstrating against the partition of India and Pakistan

British rule - saw open resistance right across the country, from peasants' rebellions to parallel regional governments being formed. Gandhi was imprisoned for two more years, during which time both his wife and his personal secretary passed away. But when he came out of prison in 1944, it wasn't just his personal life that had changed. India's political landscape was also very different, with calls for a separate Muslim state now very high on the Indian independence agenda.

When the British finally began their withdrawal in 1947, the design wasn't for the single, multi-religion independent India that Gandhi dreamed of. The Indian Independence Act effectively split the country into two along religious lines in what became known as 'partition', with a new state, the Dominion of Pakistan, effectively being a Muslim territory while the Union of India broadly became home to Hindus and Sikhs.

Partition shattered Gandhi's dream of peaceful unity for India. In these new border areas, many millions of people were forced to relocate according to their religion and an

estimated 500,000 were killed as religious factionalism broke out.

Further proof that Gandhi's non-violent principles had turned to dust came on the afternoon of 30 January 1948. Aged 78 and on his way to prayer with his nieces, Gandhi was shot three times at point-blank range by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist opposed to the Mahatma's tolerance of Muslims.

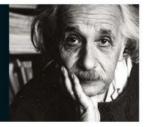
#### **LAY TO REST**

The funeral took place almost exactly 24 hours later. The procession took five hours to travel three and a half miles through New Delhi, and was witnessed by an estimated one million mourners. Twenty-two months later, Godse - along with co-conspirator Narayan Apte - was hanged for the crime, despite Prime Minister Nehru's wishes that the sentence be reduced, as such an act of capital punishment would be in direct contravention of Gandhian principles.

Gandhi had never flinched from the prospect of being killed for his cause; he had a calm bravery that has echoed in the words of many freedom fighters since, including the testimony of Nelson Mandela at his trial in 1964. It wasn't ironic that the pacifist Gandhi was killed at the hand of a gunman; it was a fate that he himself expected. But in the face of such a threat, he showed immeasurable courage and defiance. His words back on that beach in Dandi at the end of the Salt March were both inspiring and prophetic: "only those prepared for jail-going and for receiving bullets should accompany me". Gandhi was always prepared. •

#### ALBERT EINSTEIN

"I believe that Gandhi's views were the most enlightened of all the political men in our time. We should strive to do things in his spirit"

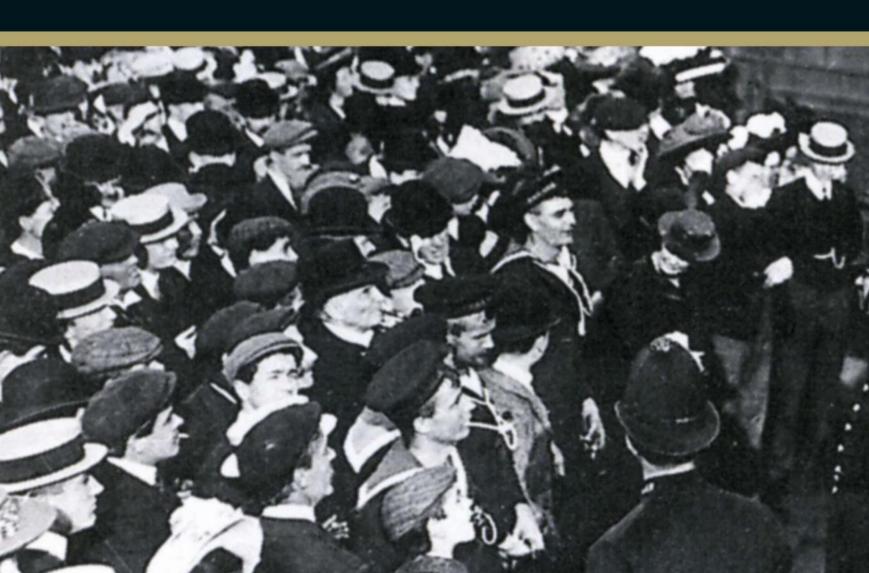






# EMMELINE PANKHURST MOTHER OF THE VOTE

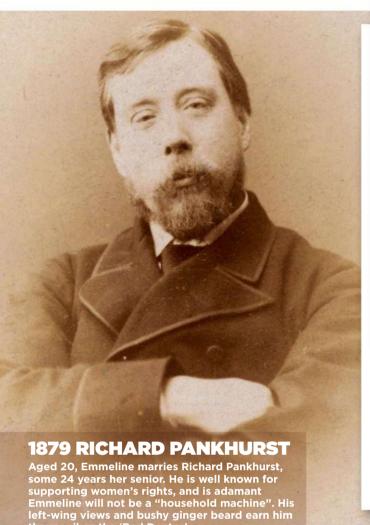
The prominent British suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst faced derision, beatings and prison, all to win women the right to vote, as **Jonny Wilkes** explains







HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS EMMELINE PANKHURST





#### **1903 BIRTH OF THE WSPU**

Disappointed with the progress of suffrage societies, **Emmeline invites** leading suffragists to her house on Nelson Street, Manchester, and forms the

Women's Social and Political Union. Under the slogan, "Votes for Women" - seen in this poster - the WSPU worked for the achievement of one issue: suffrage.



yde Park was bathed in glorious sunshine as 'Women's Sunday' began on 21 June 1908. Organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, the massive demonstration for women's suffrage saw thousands march in seven processions all over London, gathering for a day of peaceful protest. As the elegantly dressed leader of the WSPU, Emmeline Pankhurst, walked through the park, she heard brass bands and singers over the excited chatter of the crowds, and saw banners reading "Votes for Women" fluttering in the summer breeze. The occasional bugle signalled the start of a speech at one of the 20 stages erected around the park. Emmeline, a renowned orator, would speak throughout the day.

the moniker, the 'Red Doctor'

A sea of purple, white and green - the newly adopted colours of the WSPU - washed over the park on innumerable rosettes, badges, sashes, banners and flags. Purple stood for dignity, white for purity and green for hope. The wealthier women present proudly bore the colours on their jewellery, wearing amethysts, pearls and peridots.

An estimated 500,000 people filled Hyde Park demanding a women's suffrage bill. It was described in the WSPU's newspaper, Votes for Women, as a "monster meeting", with trains being specially chartered to bring suffragettes from all over Britain. But Prime Minister Herbert Asquith was unmoved; women's suffrage was no closer. Such a frustrating failure caused WSPU tactics to escalate into direct action. Adopting window smashing, arson and

destruction of property, the suffragettes would face prison - and the horrors of forcible feeding - to claim a long-withheld right: the vote.

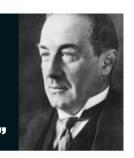
#### "WHAT A PITY..."

Growing up in Moss Side, Manchester, Emmeline Pankhurst (née Goulden) encountered a clash of two conflicting cultures in her family home. On one side, her childhood was surrounded by political and social activism as her relatively affluent parents, Robert and Sophia Jane, were fierce advocates of parliamentary reform. She became a "conscious and confirmed suffragist" after accompanying her mother to a meeting at the age of 14. But on the other side, the intelligent and tenacious Emmeline was frustrated by the differing attitudes towards her and her brothers. She later wrote about lying in bed one night, when her father came into her room, leant over her and sighed, "What a pity she wasn't born a lad."

To Emmeline, the catalyst for social change was going to be universal suffrage. It was a view shared by her husband, Richard, an esteemed barrister and fervent socialist over twice her age. The couple were married on 18 December 1879. In the first ten years of their marriage, they hosted suffrage meetings in their home, founded the Women's Franchise League in 1889 and had

#### STANLEY BALDWIN, FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, 1930

"I say with no fear of contradiction, that whatever view posterity may take, Mrs Pankhurst has won for herself a niche in the Temple of Fame."





five children: Christabel, Sylvia, Francis Henry (known as Frank), Adela and Henry Francis. Working as a Poor Law Guardian, Emmeline saw the horrific conditions of the workhouses and became intransigent in the belief that the vote for women – "the mother half of the country" as she described them – was not just a right but a requisite for the end of poverty and social hardships.

1903, she established the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) with the help of her daughter Christabel, 23, now active in the movement along with and Sylvia, 21. Open only to women, its sole interest was obtaining the vote and, as their motto, 'Deeds, not words,' suggests, they were prepared to use action to achieve it.

The early years of the WSPU were focussed on petitions and demonstrations targeted at

# "Women were no longer protestors, but soldiers in a war for enfranchisement"

While her resolve hardened, Richard's health failed. In 1898, he died at the age of 64 of complications from stomach ulcers. Visiting a friend in Switzerland, Emmeline discovered the news from an announcement in the newspaper.

Channelling her despair into the fight for enfranchisement, Emmeline was increasingly exasperated by the lack of progress of suffrage groups, as well as the Independent Labour Party, of which she was a member. So, on 10 October the governing Liberal Party, including a young minister named Winston Churchill. But arrests slowly became frequent as they aimed to gain public attention. As Emmeline, first detained in 1908 for trying to forcefully enter Parliament, declared at one of her many trials, "We are not here because we are law-breakers; we are here in our efforts to become law-makers." A schism in the suffrage movement ensued, between the peaceful suffragists and the WSPU

'suffragettes'. The term was coined by journalist Charles E Hands in the *Daily Mail* in January 1906 as a pejorative slur, but it was embraced by Emmeline and her cohorts.

Women were no longer protestors, but soldiers in a war for enfranchisement. In the aftershock of 'Women's Sunday', many women began to believe the denial of legal representation left only illegal actions as a way to be heard. The infamous 'war on windows' commenced as stones were hurled through windows and, to make arrest more difficult, women chained themselves to railings. The suffragettes were propelled into the public eye and Emmeline took responsibility for all deeds, resulting in her being charged for inciting destruction of property.

#### **JAILED AND HUMILIATED**

But if the authorities thought locking the suffragettes up would prevent action, they were wrong. Prisons around the country became battlefields from 1909, when artist Marion Wallace-Dunlop carried out the first hunger strike, protesting the treatment of suffragette inmates. By refusing to eat, she obtained her release after 91 hours as it was feared she



would die of starvation. Other women started doing the same, at great personal risk, leaving prison authorities with two choices: let the dangerous hunger strikes continue, or instigate forcible feeding.

This barbaric practice saw a prisoner bound or held down and a milk-and-brandy mixture forcefully funnelled into their gullet or, worse still, a plastic tube two-foot long was shoved through their nose. The violent, excruciating and dangerous procedure left prisoners traumatised. Emmeline described it as, "One of the most disgusting and brutal expedients ever resorted to by prison authorities." She escaped the ordeal by fending off prison guards with a jug, but she could hear the screams of others echo down the prison walls. When word reached the press, the government was heavily criticised and the suffragettes launched a damning propaganda campaign. Things were only exacerbated with the controversial 'Cat and Mouse Act' in 1913, which released frail prisoners, weakened from hunger striking, until they recovered their strength. They were then re-arrested to serve the rest of their sentence.

For a while, public opinion swung in favour of the suffragettes. Emmeline had enjoyed

#### **1913 HEROINE HONOURED**

On 4 June, ardent suffragette Emily Davison runs on to Epsom racecourse to disrupt the Derby, but is trampled trying to grab the reins of the King's horse. Fatally injured, she dies four days later. For her funeral, she is honoured with a large procession.

Emmeline, certain that Davison intended to martyr herself, describes her as clinging "to the conviction that one great tragedy, the deliberate throwing into the breach of a human life, would put an end to the intolerable torture of women."

successful speaking tours of the USA, and the British government faced criticism, especially after the notorious 'Black Friday'. Following the failure of the Conciliation Bill on Friday, 18 November 1910, which would have given a number of wealthy women the vote, an infuriated Emmeline marched with 300 women to the Houses of Parliament. Stopped by the police, women of the deputation were beaten, kicked, thrown to the ground, groped and some had their faces grated against the iron railings of Parliament Square. Over six hours, hundreds were arrested, and the deaths of two women, including Emmeline's little sister Mary Jane Clarke, were attributed to the injuries received.

'Black Friday' signalled an escalation in militancy: window smashing intensified, arson attacks became regular, acid was used to write "Votes for Women" on golf greens, and works of art were vandalised, including an axe being taken to *The Rokeby Venus* by Velázquez. Women who vehemently disagreed with such militant measures left the WSPU, including Emmeline's daughters Sylvia and Adela. The rift in the Pankhurst family would never heal but

1928 LEGACY

Emmeline dies on 14 June, a month before her 70th birthday. In 1930, this statue was erected in London's Victoria Gardens, near the site of so many WSPU battles.

Emmeline persevered. A bodyguard unit was even created under the direction of Jiu jitsu expert Edith Garrud. On 21 May 1914, at the gate of Buckingham Palace, Emmeline was arrested for the last time

delivering a petition to the King. But with an inevitable global conflict looming, the war for enfranchisement was about to be postponed.

#### THE ROAD TO VICTORY

World War I saw a radical change in Emmeline. Dissent gave way to unbridled patriotism and the government's most vociferous critic became an ally overnight. All WSPU actions were ceased to support the war effort and, in return, suffragette prisoners were released. Women started working in jobs previously seen as unacceptable, and they thrived. As the war dragged on, even with reduced activity by suffragettes and suffragists alike, Britain took its final steps towards suffrage until 1918, when the Representation of the People Act was passed. It gave the vote to women over 30 – with some qualifications concerning property ownership – resulting in about 8.5 million new voters.

Weary of activism, Emmeline stepped back from the WSPU. In her final years, she moved several times and even considered running for Parliament as a Conservative candidate, but deteriorating health prevented her. Her death on 14 June 1928, aged 69, came a matter of weeks before the Equal Franchise Act, finally giving all women the same voting rights as men. Although she would not live to see the fulfilment of the ultimate aim for which she had striven for decades, the hope and determination she felt on that bright, warm day in Hyde Park had kept her going in the face of obstinate misogyny. Today, the WSPU colours that adorned the park can be seen wrapped around her grave. •

SYLVIA PANKHURST, 1953

"My mother had the priceless gift of believing the cause for which she was striving was the most vital of all causes. This strong conviction gave her great power to influence others."







#### **BOY TO MAN**

Though born into privilege, from a young age Churchill was determined to make his mark on the world...



#### FANT CLASS

Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill - here pictured aged seven - was born on 30 November 1874 at Blenheim Palace, home of his grandfather, the 7th Duke of Marlborough. His parents were distant, and he became attached to his nanny, Mrs Everest.



# SOLDIER SCRIBE WAR CORRESPONDENT

Churchill graduated from Sandhurst in 1894, served in India and the Sudan, and began writing to boost his army wages. This photo shows him in 1900 as a war correspondent during the Boer War.



Over half a century after the death of our pre-eminent wartime leader on 24 January 1965, his life and achievements continue to inspire...



DARLING CLEMENTINE On 12 September 1908, Churchill married Clementine Hozier, over ten years his junior, after a short engagement. They had five children, though the fourth, Marigold, died before the age of three. Lady Churchill died in 1977, aged 92.









For five challenging years Churchill galvanised soldiers and civilians alike with his appearances and speeches...



## THEATRE OF WAR

NORTH AFRICA CAMPAIGN

On 13 May 1943, the Allies secured victory in North Africa after three long years of fighting - "the end of the beginning", Churchill said. Here, on 1 June, he's leaving the amphitheatre at Carthage, having given a speech to his triumphant troops in Tunisia.

NORMANDY

Churchill did not always have a cordial relationship with his generals even Montgomery, hero of El Alamein and Normandy, who he reportedly described as "insufferable in victory".



POWER OF THREE

POTSDAM CONFERENCE
On 17 July 1945, Churchill met with Soviet Premier
Joseph Stalin and US President Harry S Truman
to discuss the future of Germany. Despite his
wartime achievements, on 26 July Churchill lost
the general election to Clement Attlee.

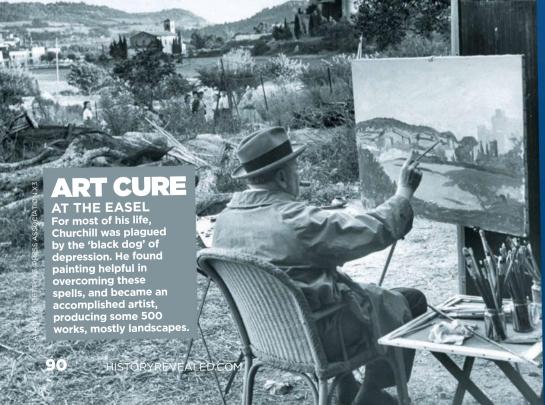
HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS WINSTON CHURCHILL

#### **HOT SEAT**

**OUTSIDE HITLER'S BUNKER** 

During his July 1945 visit to troops in Berlin after the city had fallen to the Allies, Churchill perched gingerly on a chair on which the Führer, who committed suicide on 30 April, may have sat. Just weeks earlier, on 8 May - declared Victory in Europe Day - Germany's defeat had been secured.





## STATE FUNERAL

On 24 January 1965, after a severe stroke, Winston Churchill died in his London home. He was 90 years old...



#### **LONDON MOURNS**

CROWDS QUEUE TO PAY RESPECTS
Churchill's body lay in state at Westminster Hall
for three days after his death. The public
response was huge - 321,360 people filed past
his coffin before it was placed on a gun carriage
and carried to St Paul's Cathedral for the funeral.



## **GUARD OF HONOUR**

CORTÈGE ON THE STRAND

Churchill's state funeral on 30 January was the largest in history at that time. It was attended by representatives from 112 countries, and an estimated 350 million people – 25 million of them in Britain – watched the funeral on television.



# FUNERAL TRAIN CHURCHILL'S FINAL DEPARTURE

After the funeral, the coffin was taken by boat to Waterloo Station, honoured by a 19-gun salute and RAF fly-by en route. The steam locomotive Winston Churchill pulled the train to Oxfordshire, where the great leader was buried in the family plot at St Martin's Church, Bladon, near his birthplace at Blenheim Palace.









# HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS ADOLF HITLER

eville Chamberlain had the measure of Adolf Hitler. Or so the British Prime Minister thought. In Chamberlain's eyes, the Nazi leader was "The commonest little dog I have ever seen". That was how he described Hitler to his cabinet shortly after returning from Munich in September 1938.

For a fortnight, the leaders of Britain, Germany, Italy and France discussed the future of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland - the Germanspeaking region that the Führer was determined

After the first conference with Hitler, Chamberlain flew back to Britain, confident that Germany would not invade Czechoslovakia. The Führer had promised that self-determination for the Sudeten Germans would suffice and, as Chamberlain confided to his sister, "I got the impression that here was a man who could be relied upon when he had given his word."

But Hitler reneged on his promise to sign a non-aggression pact, and another conference was hastily summoned. Desperate to avoid war, Chamberlain and the French Premier,

Edouard Daladier, signed the Munich Agreement, in which the Czechoslovakian government - not even invited to the talks was forced to hand over the Sudetenland to Germany. In return, Hitler would not attack the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain returned to Britain on 30 September a hero, waving a copy of the Agreement as he emerged from his aeroplane at London Heston's airport. "Peace for our time," he declared.

Hitler had wanted war with the Czechs and, to that end, the German leader was disappointed with the Agreement. Nonetheless, the conference with Britain and France had been instructive. "Our enemies are little worms," he reflected. "I saw them in Munich."

#### **GRUDGING RESPECT**

Two decades earlier. Hitler's regard for the British Empire and its army had been one of deep - if grudging - respect. In November 1918, he heard news of the World War I armistice from his hospital bed in Pasewalk, Germany, where he was recovering from being gassed in the trenches. It was a devastating blow,

**WASTE PAPER** Agreement as merely a "scrap of paper", before invading Poland in September 1939 **PEACEMAKER** British PM Neville Chamberlain returns from Munich in 1938, believing he has negotiated a solid peace deal with Hitler

what Hitler called "The greatest villainy of the century", and he blamed Germany's Marxists and Jews for selling out its soldiers.

On leaving hospital, the 30-year-old Hitler settled in Munich and cultivated his hatred of the Jews and the Bolsheviks. He began speaking at public events, usually small backrooms in beer halls, where many of the audience were too drunk to understand his tirades.

Over time, however, his audiences increased.

# "THE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTIVE. 'OUR ENEMIES ARE LITTLE WORMS,' HITLER REFLECTED"

## **MOSLEY: BRITAIN'S HITLER?**

#### The leader of Blighty's own Fascist movement

Tall, good-looking, urbane and a dashing war hero, he was also charismatic and clever. Not surprisingly, when Mosley embarked on a political career after World War I, he was marked down a high flier. Elected Conservative MP for Harrow in 1918 at the age of 22, he was a natural

tackle the jobs crisis, as he proposed. So, in 1931, Mosley left Labour and formed

the New Party - a move that was to have dramatic consequences for the country.

Though Hitler had yet to assume power in Germany, the fascist Benito Mussolini had transformed Italy into a one-party dictatorship after becoming Prime Minister in 1922. Mosley visited Italy a decade later and embraced Mussolini's ideology and methods.

Mosley declared that his enemies in Britain were "the Old Gang government"

Avowedly antiwas arguably not anti-Semitic, although when, in October 1936, he and his fellow fascists attempted to march

and the deteriorating situation with Hitler in Paris in 1980

tea fights and through the predominantly Jewish East



Here was someone who spoke for the man in the street, the man who had spent four years at the front, only to return home to find Germany decadent and in danger from communists. Hitler explained with fierce eloquence how he would rebuild the Fatherland. Hitler envisioned a mighty German empire, one that would ultimately overshadow Britain's, whose example he so admired.

The British Empire had invested in the small island power, prestige and prosperity. Hitler

was particularly impressed with the way Britain controlled India's 400 million inhabitants, and he dreamed of Germany ruling Russia in a similar fashion. "What India was for England, the eastern territory will be for us," he stated.

As early as 1922, Hitler began thinking about an alliance with Great Britain. He hated the Russians, despised the French, but believed he could do business with the British. When he became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, Hitler made overtures to Britain about an alliance, and, in 1935, the two countries signed the Anglo-German Naval Agreement.

#### THE KING'S FAVOUR

Relations improved further in 1936, following the accession of King Edward VII, reputed to admire much about Hitler. That summer, Joachim von Ribbentrop arrived in London as Ambassador. He would, Hitler hoped, lead Britain to join his Anti-Comintern pact against international communism.

But Hitler's plans began to unravel when, in December 1936, the King abdicated. Von Ribbentrop led his Führer to believe that Edward had been removed by an alliance of Jews, Freemasons and powerful politicians, and Hitler started to move away from Britain and towards Italy in seeking a European ally.

By the time the Munich Agreement was signed, Hitler's feelings for the British had turned from respect to disdain. They were, as he told his generals in 1939, "worms", only too ready to appease him in return for peace in Europe.

Yet the "worms" declared war on Germany on 3 September that year, two days after Hitler had sent his troops into Poland. The Führer was taken by surprise. "What now?" he angrily demanded of von Ribbentrop when he heard the news.

His diffidence soon disappeared. The rapid conquest of Poland

# HITLER IN LIVERPOOL

Did the Führer stay in the city of the Liver Bird?

Did you know Adolf Hitler lived in Liverpool? Yes, the most infamous figure of the 20th century spent several months in 1912-13 residing with his half-brother, Alois, in Upper Stanhope Street, Toxteth. At least, that's the claim made by Bridget Hitler - the Irish wife of Alois - in her book written at the height of the Nazi leader's fame.

Trouble is, there is no evidence to corroborate her statement. Bridget's unpublished manuscript lay forgotten until the 1970s, when it was unearthed by historian Robert Payne during his research for a book on Hitler. He went public with the astonishing claim that Hitler had fled to England to avoid being drafted into the Austrian army. It was soon taken as gospel, even though no one was able to produce any hard evidence in support of the matter.

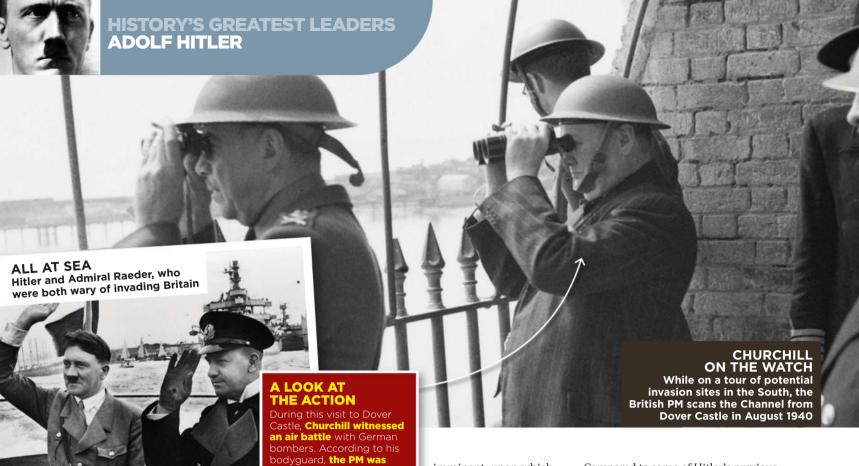
Most Hitler historians have rubbished the idea and, in his seminal biography on the Führer, Ian Kershaw doesn't even mention the rumour, instead placing Hitler in Vienna at this time, an aimless drifter whose resentment against the Jews was taking root.

It's believed Bridget was helped in writing her memoirs by her son, William (Hitler's nephew) and therein lies a story that is not only interesting – but true! Born in Liverpool in 1911, Willy moved to Germany in the 1930s but left in 1939 for a lecture tour of the USA to capitalise on the notoriety of the family name. Once in the States he applied for citizenship and, in 1944, was authorised to enlist in the US Navy. Willy Hitler died in New York in 1987.



THE ALLIED HITLER
Bridget Hitler and her son William, who
was personally cleared for US service by
FBI Director, J Edgar Hoover, in 1944





emboldened Hitler and he began to draft plans for the invasion of western Europe, his goal: "To bring England to its knees; to destroy France."

DER REICHSKANZLER U. ADMIRAL

Initially, Hitler envisaged invading the Low Countries in the middle of November. His generals said it wouldn't be possible, so the attack on the West was postponed until spring 1940. Throughout the winter of 1939-40 Hitler's attitude towards Britain hardened. Like the spurned lover, he desired revenge. "The English will have to learn the hard way," he declared.

Not that he intended to inflict on the British the humiliation that would be heaped on the Low Countries following their conquest. Belgium and the Netherlands would be incorporated into a new Germany and the provinces of France would be repopulated with Germans.

He had no such outlandish plans for Britain. He just wanted this warrior nation defeated so that it posed no threat to the expansion of the Third Reich.

That was why Hitler, in the words of one of his generals in the summer of 1940, was "greatly puzzled" by Great Britain. Why wouldn't it admit defeat? France and the Low Countries had been overrun in a matter of weeks, leaving the UK alone.

#### A PUGNACIOUS FOE

The problem for the Führer was that Neville Chamberlain was no longer Prime Minister. He had been replaced, on 10 May, by Winston Churchill – an altogether more pugnacious foe. In a speech made on 18 June, Churchill warned his people that the battle for Britain was

imminent, upon which "depends the survival of Christian civilisation".

Away from his public rhetoric, Churchill discussed, with his cabinet, Britain's response to any possible peace offer from Hitler. "He was in a position to offer the most tempting terms," wrote Churchill in his memoirs. "To those who like myself had studied his moves it

those who like myself had studied his moves it did not seem impossible that he would consent to leave Britain and her Empire and Fleet intact, and make a peace which would have secured him that free hand in the East [Soviet Union] of which Ribbentrop had talked to me in 1937."

On 16 July, Hitler issued Directive No 16, under the heading 'Preparations for a Landing Operation against England'. It included in its preamble: "The aim of this operation is to exclude the English motherland as a basis for the continuation of the war against Germany, and, if it should be necessary, to occupy it

Compared to some of Hitler's previous bellicose declarations, Directive No 16 was hardly a call to crush the British without mercy. Even in ordering the development of Operation Sea Lion – the code name for Germany's invasion of Britain – the Führer displayed a marked reluctance to undertake a full-scale invasion, a feeling shared by many of his military leaders.

He still held out hope Britain would come to its senses and, three days after issuing the Directive, Hitler addressed the Reichstag and issued to Britain his "last appeal for reason". Agree to my peace terms, he demanded – but the British rejected his entreaties.

Hitler thus ordered that "preparations for the entire operation must be completed by mid-August", a timescale that was beyond the scope of the German navy. Its head, Admiral Raeder, informed Hitler that 15 September was a more realistic launch date, although he favoured postponing until the following May. For a start,

#### "AGREE TO PEACE, HITLER DEMANDED - BUT THE BRITISH REJECTED HIS ENTREATIES"

completely." In secret files released after the war, a British informant told the Foreign Office that: "The Germans think King George will abdicate during the attack on London." Hitler would then return Edward VII to the throne. Although it was rumoured he intended to make Oxford the new seat of power, there is scant evidence to back this claim beyond the fact the city wasn't targeted by the Luftwaffe – though, in likelihood, that was only because it wasn't of industrial importance to the British war effort.

the notorious Channel tides and currents would be less capricious in early summer.

The date of the invasion wasn't the only bone of contention. As Churchill discovered after the war, a "vehement controversy, conducted with no little asperity, arose in the German Staffs". The source of the friction was where the invasion should land. The German army demanded several landings along the southern coast from Ramsgate in the north to Lyme Regis in the west – a stretch of coastline

# **OCCUPIED BRITAIN**

The only pieces of British territory occupied by the Germans were the Channel Islands...

In the summer of 1939, few Channel Islanders believed that, even if Britain and Germany did go to war, it would affect them. Jersey, the largest of the islands, even promoted itself as the "ideal wartime holiday resort", anticipating hordes of visitors from the British mainland looking for a break from hostilities. Such dreams were violently shattered on 28 June 1940, when a German air raid on Sark, Guernsey and Jersey left 44 islanders dead.

A little over a fortnight earlier, the British had decided not to defend

A little over a fortnight earlier, the British had decided not to defend the islands from any German attack, believing it an waste of men and machinery. After all, agreed the War Cabinet, the Channel Islands held no strategic importance.

Instead, between 21 and 23 June, the government evacuated some 30,000 islanders to Britain, roughly one third of the entire population. A week later, the Germans invaded Guernsey. Within three days the island, along with Jersey, Sark and Alderney, had officially surrendered.

Over the next five years, the remaining islanders suffered a series of hardships and humiliations, starting with the promulgation of anti-Semitic laws in the parliaments on 27 September 1940 – in 1942 three Jewish women were deported and subsequently killed in Auschwitz.

Bread rationing was introduced, a curfew was imposed, identity cards were obligatory, civilian radios were banned, teaching German in schools was made compulsory and, in September 1942, more than 2,000 islanders were deported to Germany for forced labour.

deported to Germany for forced labour.

Armed resistance on the Channel Islands was virtually non-existent but, in May 1942, the Guernsey Underground News Service was established. Each day for nearly two years, it published a leaflet summarising the war news as heard on the BBC (often listened to on homemade wirelesses) until February 1944, when the five members were betrayed by an informer. Two of the five never returned from captivity.

Collaboration was not uncommon during the Occupation, although few were as shameless as Victor Carey, the Bailiff of Guernsey who described British soldiers as "enemy forces" in the local newspaper. He also offered a reward of £25 to anyone who could identify those islanders responsible for writing 'V for Victory' signs on buildings.

Though the liberation of France began on D-Day, on 6 June 1944, it wasn't until 9 May 1945 that the Germans finally surrendered the





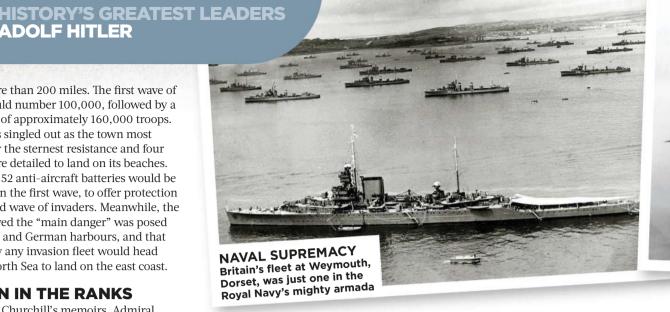
covering more than 200 miles. The first wave of invaders would number 100,000, followed by a second wave of approximately 160,000 troops. Brighton was singled out as the town most likely to offer the sternest resistance and four divisions were detailed to land on its beaches. Additionally, 52 anti-aircraft batteries would be transported in the first wave, to offer protection for the second wave of invaders. Meanwhile, the British believed the "main danger" was posed by the Dutch and German harbours, and that consequently any invasion fleet would head across the North Sea to land on the east coast.

#### **DIVISION IN THE RANKS**

According to Churchill's memoirs, Admiral Raeder considered his army's proposals fantastical, informing their leaders that "nothing like so large or rapid a movement was possible". The area of landings was too broad, even if the German Luftwaffe achieved air supremacy in the lead up to the invasion. The Channel, he informed his army and Luftwaffe counterparts, was heavily mined and the Royal Navy possessed a stronger fleet than his own.

Raeder's reservations were well-justified. As Churchill noted on 10 July: "The Admiralty have over a thousand armed patrolling vessels, of which two or three hundred are always at sea... behind these patrolling craft are the flotillas of destroyers, of which forty destroyers are now disposed between the Humber and Portsmouth, the bulk being in the narrowest waters."

Raeder also pointed out that transporting 160,000 men and their equipment would require 2 million tons of shipping, and where



#### "I MIGHT JUST AS WELL PUT THE TROOPS THROUGH THE **SAUSAGE MACHINE"**

General Franz Halder to Admiral Raeder

would he find that? He favoured concentrating the landing to the Strait of Dover, a proposal met with derision by the army. "I might just as well put the troops that have been landed straight through the sausage machine," retorted General Franz Halder, the army's Chief of General Staff, who believed it would be suicide to land so many troops on such a narrow front.

Halder, too, was correct to be concerned. Though Churchill, who expected any invasion fleet to number 200,000 troops, considered an east coast landing a strong possibility, he also appreciated which route would be the most

tempting for an enemy admiral: "The sovereign importance of London and the narrowness of the seas in this quarter make the south the theatre where the greatest precautions must be taken," he wrote on 15 July.

Germany's military leaders spent most of August arguing over the invasion plans while, in the skies over southern Britain, the RAF duelled with the Luftwaffe for aerial supremacy. Meanwhile, British bombers had been busy raiding German shipping anchored in the ports of Kiel, Bremen and Emden. The loss of valuable shipping caused the invasion date to be



## **TURNING TRAITOR**

A handful of Brits joined the enemy cause...

The notorious Waffen SS - the elite and ruthless soldiers of the Nazi war machine - had various foreign divisions, including men who volunteered from France, Holland, Hungary and Denmark. Yet there was also a unit composed of British and Commonwealth soldiers. Initially called The Legion of St George, this small band of traitors later changed its name to the British Free Corps.

The German propaganda machine tried to make the most of its presence but, in truth, the Corps never numbered more than 30 soldiers. It was the brainchild of John Amery, the fascist son of the British Secretary of State for India, and he toured German prisoner of war camps in 1943, trying to persuade captured British soldiers to fight for the Nazis. Barely any POWs responded to the call to turn

traitor - those few that did were officially designated the British Free Corps in January 1944. It wasn't until March 1945 that the Corps saw action, trying in vain with Scandinavian SS units to stem the Soviet advance into eastern Germany.

Most of the Corps was captured by Allied forces, and sentenced by the British to lengthy prison terms, although John Amery was executed for treason in December 1945. Two weeks later, William Joyce suffered a similar fate. Although not a member of the British Free Corps, Joyce broadcast Nazi propaganda in English, having fled to Germany in 1939 because of his fascist ideology. The Nazis hoped the broadcasts would strike fear into the British - millions of whom tuned in each week - but in fact Joyce's melodramatic sneer made them laugh.



rescheduled from 15 to 21 September. Then, it was put back another three days. All this time, Raeder continued to fret. "The risk is still too great," he declared. "If the 'Sea Lion' operation fails, this will mean a great gain in prestige for the British."

On 15 September, the RAF shot down 43 German aircraft, effectively bringing to a successful conclusion the Battle of Britain. Two days later, Hitler postponed the invasion indefinitely but, with cruel petulance, he ordered his air force to continue bombing British cities, in a campaign of terror that came to be known as the Blitz.

#### **EASTERN PROMISE**

But that was the extent of Hitler's attack. His heart had never been in the destruction of Britain and, since the end of July, an idea had taken root in his mind. Britain could be defeated without the need for a bloody invasion; it could be beaten by the 'annihilation' of Russia. The lightning conquest of the Low Countries, coupled with Germany's view of the Russian army as poorly-trained and led, 153, by which the Oxford convinced Hitler that he could sweep across Russia in a matter of months. Then, at last, he could fulfil his dream of turning the Soviet Union into Germany's answer to India. With Russia defeated, Britain would have lost its last potential European ally and then it would have to agree to peace on German terms.

On 22 June 1941, Germany invaded Russia and, the following month, Hitler informed his military leaders that he would turn his attention to Great Britain again in the spring of 1942, "by which time the Russian campaign will be completed". In his war memoirs, published in 1949, Churchill commented: "This was a vain but an important imagining. On February 13 1942, Admiral Raeder had his final interview on 'Sea Lion' and got Hitler to agree to a complete stand-down. Thus perished operation Sea Lion." •

#### **GET HOOKED**



#### **BOOKS**

Take an intimate look at the Führer in lan Kershaw's two-volume biography. Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris and Hitler 1936-1945: Nemesis.

# HOW DID BRITAIN VIEW THE FÜHRER?

Before the war, Hitler was hardly seen as a threat at all

in 1933, few people in Britain recognised the danger he posed. Winston Churchill, then the Conservative MP for Epping, was a lone voice in describing the "odious conditions" many faced in Hitler's Germany. In a speech to the House of Commons in April 1933, he warned that "persecution and pogrom of Jews'

But Churchill's warnings were ignored, drowned out by appeasers, apologists and admirers. Among the latter was Edward, Prince of Wales, who became King in 1936, though he abdicated within the year to marry the American divorcee, Wallis Simpson. The King sent Hitler a his 47th birthday, wishing the Nazi leader

The number of votes, to

University's debating

his sister-in-law (the future Queen Mother) and his

blame could be attached to the Queen, just seven at the time, and even the Queen Mother would not have known the depth of the Nazis' depravity at the time.

For many people in Britain,

communism was the bigger threat in the early 1930s, and the likes of Hitler and Mussolini were seen almost as figures of fun, with their garish costumes and theatrical gestures. Many newspapers, notably the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily* Mirror, championed Oswald Mosley's brand of fascism in the early 1930s. while The Times advocated a policy of appeasement. The broadsheet wasn't alone in supporting appeasement. The British public were, largely, keen to avoid another war and many were happy to

In wishing to avoid antagonising the

By the time the government, and the majority of the British people, realised







# CHE GUEVARA THE ROAD TO CUBA

The Cuban from Argentina, the righteous revolutionary who backed nuclear war, the anti-capitalist whose face was co-opted after death to create a lucrative, iconic brand: Che Guevara was one of the most complex and divisive figures of the 20th century. **Jonny Wilkes** introduces the man behind the myth

#### HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS CHE GUEVARA

eep in the countryside of northern Argentina, a solitary young man was making his way to the nearest town when he was forced to stop and inflate one of the tyres on his beat-up, unpredictable motorised bicycle.

The year was 1950 and the man was Ernesto Guevara, exploring his home country and meeting its people during a break from his medical studies at the University of Buenos Aires. As he fixed his tyre, he saw a tramp sheltering under a bridge near the side of the road, and struck up a conversation.

Guevara learned that the weary, weathered stranger had been earning some money picking cotton and was now heading to a grape harvest in search of further work. When the tramp heard that the younger man was also travelling – but purely for the joy of it rather than to find employment – he clasped his hands to his head and cried: "Mamma mia! You're putting all this effort into nothing?!"

Guevara had no retort and, after saying his goodbyes, carried on his way. But his meeting with the tramp lingered in his mind, as did many other encounters he experienced while traversing Argentina. The poverty he witnessed on that trip – and during a longer journey across South America a year later – had an irrevocable impact on Guevara. It convinced him that, as the tramp implied, he must direct his efforts towards something important – driving him to become the revolutionary we now know as Che.

#### **FIRST STEPS**

Before he was Che, he was Ernesto Guevara de la Serna, born in 1928 to middle-class parents living in Rosario, Argentina. As a boy he suffered from debilitating asthma, but that didn't stop him from excelling in a number of sports including rugby, swimming and, unsurprisingly, cycling; on the contrary, it was a powerful motivation. An avid reader and chess player, Guevara was also a high achiever in academic studies, and was heading for a career in medicine.

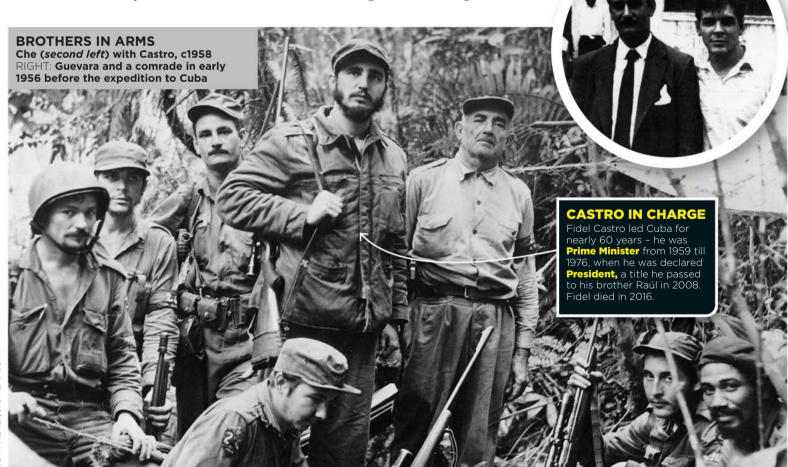
It was during his school years that Guevara took his first steps toward Marxism. His leftist parents exposed him and his four younger siblings to revolutionary concepts, notably when Republican veterans of the Spanish Civil War were invited to stay at the family home, and a precocious Ernesto soaked up myriad radical views. His political stance was profoundly influenced by his 1950 solo bicycle holiday and a second, nine-month journey across the continent that began in December 1951.

During a second hiatus in his university studies, the 23-year-old Guevara and his friend Alberto Granado set off from Argentina on an ancient motorcycle that they had ironically named 'The Powerful' (its power soon plummeted and before long it expired). During their 5,000-mile trek, Ernesto and Alberto travelled through Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. In Peru they spent time treating the inhabitants of a leper colony, who showed their gratitude with the gift of a

raft to enable the two Argentinians to row along the Amazon River.

Everywhere he travelled, Guevara saw crippling poverty, oppression and victims of imperialism, experiences described evocatively in his journals (published in Cuba in 1993 as *The Motorcycle Diaries*). After a stop-off in Florida, he returned to Argentina a changed man. He no longer saw nationalities as important, but considered South and Central America to be a single cultural and economic entity. "Not only Argentina but all of Latin America is my country," he wrote. He despised right-wing governments that were oppressing the poor, and came to the conclusion that the only route to liberation was armed revolution.

Guevara's conviction was bolstered further in 1953. Having completed his studies, he again left Argentina to travel the continent. In Guatemala, he found a progressive democratically elected government headed by Jacobo Árbenz implementing major land reforms. Guevara decided to stay and support this social revolution. He threw himself into the Marxist community, where he later met his first wife, Hilda; it was here that he first received the nickname 'Che' – an Argentine interjection, similar to 'uh', that he used frequently. A year





confirming to Guevara that the United States was an imperialist oppressor – the enemy.

#### **CUBAN LANDING**

Guevara wanted to stay and fight for the reinstatement of Árbenz, but reluctantly left Guatemala, arriving in Mexico in September 1954. While working in a hospital in Mexico City, he was introduced to two exiled Cuban brothers. Raúl and Fidel Castro. On the night of that first meeting, Guevara had a long conversation with Fidel concerning the brothers' plan to overthrow the Cuban dictatorship headed by Fulgencio Batista, and immediately joined Castro's 26th of July Movement.

Guevara later recalled his first impression of Fidel: "He is a young, intelligent guy, very sure of himself and extraordinarily audacious. I think we hit it off well."

Despite the arrival of his first child (whom he described as "just like Mao"), born in February 1956, Guevara undertook months of arduous training in guerrilla warfare. In December, he was among 82 men who sailed to Cuba aboard the small, leaky yacht Granma to launch the revolution. Batista's army was

waiting for them, and instantly attacked. Guevara, the revolutionaries' medic, was wounded, but he and a few survivors managed to reach the Sierra Maestra mountain range, hoping to regroup.

With supplies running low and morale even lower, it was a testing and gruelling time - for those near Guevara (he rarely washed and emitted a pungent odour) and for Guevara

mosquito bites, he became covered with painful cysts.

Yet, as the months wore on, Guevara became an

invaluable and globally recognised figure. From his hiding places he established rudimentary factories, schools to tackle widespread illiteracy, health clinics and a pirate radio station that proved an effective propaganda tool.

Guevara also taught guerrilla tactics and earned respect as a charismatic military leader, becoming Castro's second-in-command. He was ruthless in dealing with suspected traitors, spies or deserters, often executing them himself.

"If you are capable of trembling with indignation each time an injustice is committed in the world, we are comrades"

Che Guevara

By 1958, support for Batista had waned. In desperation, he ordered his men to torture and kill civilians in order to smoke out the guerrillas. Meanwhile, Castro's men, now numbering a few hundred, were marching steadily towards Havana and victory, thanks in no small part to Guevara's tactical skill. At the Battle of Santa Clara, Guevara's fighters achieved the final,

crucial victory of the revolution, despite being surrounded and outgunned. On 1 January 1959, Batista fled the country. The following day, Guevara entered the capital and took control.

#### A MARXIST COUNTRY

In the first months of Castro's government, Guevara - now a Cuban citizen - was based at La Cabaña prison, charged with purging Batista's

> army and with the execution of enemies of the revolution. It is unclear how many he sent to firing squads (possibly hundreds) but, as with his treatment of deserters, Guevara showed little compunction in ending lives.

He was also named Minister of Industry, introducing measures to bring Cuba in line with Marxist ideology, including a law to redistribute farm land (supervised by the powerful and militaristic National Institute of Agrarian Reform) and a successful literacy campaign. As Finance Minister and president of Cuba's national bank,

Guevara showed his disdain for money and capitalism by signing his bills simply 'Che'. He wrote extensively and gave speeches exhorting Cubans to work for the good of society. He led by example, sometimes working 36 hours at a time, sleeping in his office - leaving his second wife at home to care for his growing family - and spending his days toiling in sugarcane fields.

# CHE: THE LEGACY THE MAN OF 1,000 FACES

During the sixties, Che Guevara's exploits in Cuba were reported in newspapers all over the world. In an era of rebellion and protest, the charismatic revolutionary was embraced by the politically minded young as a celebrity, even in capitalist America. His image was transformed from that of a violent, often extremist revolutionary into a heroic symbol, representing the righteous fight for freedom against oppression. It is a legacy that endures today – almost entirely thanks to one iconic, ubiquitous image.

#### **HISTORIC SNAPSHOT**

On 5 March 1960, at a ceremony commemorating the dozens killed when a ship carrying arms to Cuba exploded in Havana harbour, photographer Alberto Korda captured a shot of Guevara. He's wearing his characteristic beret, and his gaze is fixed on a spot slightly above the cameraman; he glowers with anger and perhaps a hint of melancholy. Strangely, this particular photo was not printed at the time – because no one except Korda found it especially striking.

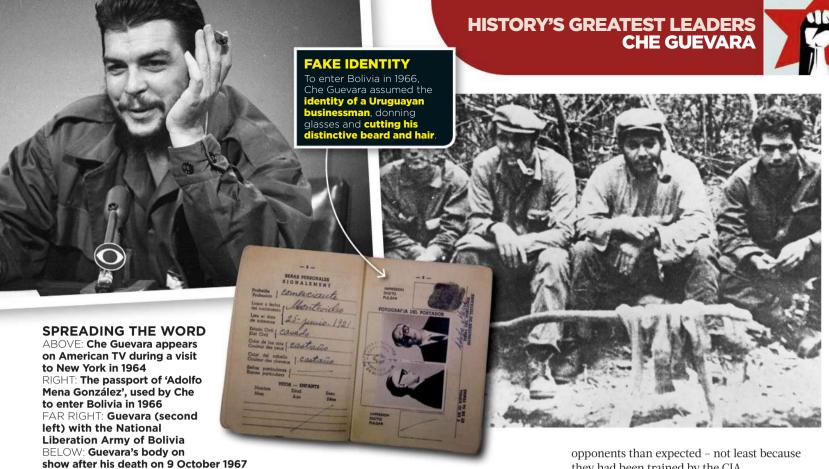
It wasn't until 1967, when a print was sold to leftist Italian publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, that the image that became known as *Guerrillero Heroico* ('The Heroic Guerilla Fighter') became widely seen. Irish artist Jim Fitzpatrick was inspired to create the high-contrast drawing that's now instantly recognisable. Following Guevara's execution, the photo was enlarged and draped on the facade of the five-storey Ministry of the Interior in Havana, enshrining the revolutionary in the popular imagination as a martyr and a hero.

# LEGACY OF AN ICON

Since then, Guevara's face has adorned posters, flags and T-shirts - in fact, there are few products that haven't sported his image - and has been carried at the vanguard of rebellions worldwide. Yet, perhaps because of the enduring popularity of his image, his character and actions are oversimplified. This is a man who killed coldheartedly and was willing to risk nuclear armageddon to purge the world of capitalism. Guevara believed that the life of the individual was always secondary to the wellbeing of the Marxist state, even if it meant sacrificing the rights of the people. "We must eliminate all newspapers," he once said. "We cannot make a revolution with free press.'

Guevara would surely have despised the legacy of his image. How can he be truly remembered as a revolutionary Marxist when his face represents one of the most lucrative brands on the planet, decorating shoes, mugs and even underwear?





In April 1961, the new Cuba came under threat from an invasion force of 1,400 CIA-trained exiles who landed at the Bay of Pigs with the aim of ousting Castro. Guevara was not there to repel the attackers - he was based in western Cuba at the time – but his policy of creating militias has been hailed as a decisive factor in the failure of the invasion after just three days.

Yet cracks were already beginning to show. Some of Guevara's policies were failing

miserably, and Castro became uncomfortable with the extent to which Guevara was turning Cuba into a Marxist country. He would send his deputy on diplomatic trips just to get him out of the country.

It was Guevara, not Castro, who built relations with the Soviet Union in the hope of cementing

Cuba's status as a Communist ally. He was instrumental in the deployment of ballistic missiles on the island in 1962, an action that sparked the Cuban Missile Crisis - 13 days during which the world was brought to the brink of nuclear war. But as the crisis receded, Guevara was seething with fury: he considered the Soviets' submission and removal of the missiles as a betrayal. He is reported to have said that he would have launched the missiles if given the option, and voiced his chilling determination to create a Marxist society, even if built on the ashes of nuclear war, saying: "We must proceed along the path of liberation even if this costs millions of atomic victims.'

In the wake of the crisis Guevara grew disillusioned, believing Cuba to be nothing more than a puppet state of the Soviet Union, and set his sights farther afield. In December 1964, he gave a passionate speech to the United Nations in New York City, condemning American foreign policy. Then he renounced his government positions and Cuban citizenship. In April 1965,

"We cannot be

sure of having something to live for unless we are willing to die for it."

Che Guevara

he clandestinely travelled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in a futile attempt to spark revolution there.

#### **ONLY A MAN**

Guevara's account of his seven torrid months in Africa open with the words: "This is the history of a failure." But there was one more failure in store for him - one

with fatal consequences. Heading back to South America, Guevara planned to build a guerrilla army in Bolivia. To enable him to enter the country incognito, in late 1966 he shaved off his distinctive beard, dyed his hair and flew to La Paz, posing as a middle-aged Uruguayan businessman named Adolfo Mena González. Together with about 50 guerrillas, Guevara achieved some early successes in the mountainous terrain but was soon on the run. Few locals joined the cause, and the Bolivian soldiers proved to be tougher

they had been trained by the CIA.

On 8 October 1967, more than 1,000 soldiers of the Bolivian army closed in on Guevara's dwindling force and opened fire. In the ensuing attack, Guevara was wounded and taken prisoner. For a day, he was held in a crumbling schoolhouse and interrogated but, after he refused to reveal any information, his execution was ordered.

When the soldier tasked with killing Guevara entered his makeshift cell, he saw him curled up against the mud wall. He was filthy, his hair clumped with mud, his guerrilla uniform badly ripped and stained with blood, his skin pale. The soldier lifted his rifle but, out of sympathy or awe, hesitated for a moment.

In one final act of defiance, Guevara shouted his last words: "Shoot me, you coward! You are only going to kill a man." •

#### WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Is it right that Che Guevara is still seen as a heroic cultural symbol despite his violent acts? Email: editor@historyrevealed.com







# MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

**Nige Tassell** shines a light on one of the Civil Rights Movement's biggest events, at which one pacifist pastor revealed his dream, and which would forever change the lives of millions...



in front of him, Dr Martin Luther King could be forgiven if he showed any sign of nerves. Behind him was a vast statue of Abraham Lincoln gazing down imperiously, the President who'd drawn the curtain on slavery in the US. In front of Dr King was a sight previously unseen by any human eye – a quarter of a million American citizens who'd descended upon the US capital for the historic March On Washington For Jobs And Freedom. And capturing the unprecedented events for a global audience were the massed, unblinking lenses of

down by microphones

The next 17 minutes would arguably be the most significant of the civil rights leader's 34 years. In those few moments, he would deliver what is commonly regarded as one of the greatest pieces of public oratory ever recorded – what would become known as the 'I Have A Dream' speech. But there was no tremble or trepidation in his voice. This was his time, these were his people. The situation and the audience were in his pocket. Towards the end of his speech, King abandoned his notes and gazed out over the sea of faces gathered before the

Lincoln Memorial. Reacting to encouragement from the gospel singer Mahalia Jackson ("Tell them about the dream, Martin!"), King embarked on the now-legendary unscripted passage with its hope-saturated refrain – "I have a dream...".

Here, on the baking Wednesday afternoon of 28 August 1963, those closing seconds of King's speech would become a defining moment for the Civil Rights Movement, one almost as significant as Lincoln putting his pen to the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years earlier. As much as Lincoln advanced the cause of black Americans with one quick action, so too did King with a confident, unambiguous speech that spoke right to the heart of middle America, of black and of white. And his words bore quick fruit. Within a year, and after a recent history of race relations pockmarked by brutal violence and murder, the Civil Rights Act was passed by Congress.

#### SON OF A PREACHER MAN

The events of that high-summer afternoon confirmed King as the figurehead of the Civil Rights Movement. A glance at the shape of his early life might have suggested this rise to have been inevitable. His preacher father – Martin

Luther King Sr – had shown great opposition to the segregationist laws under

which black Americans, particularly those in the family's native South, were forced to live. An incident where King Sr refused to acknowledge a traffic officer who had referred to him as "Boy" was but one episode that would crystallise the younger King's calling.

Allied to this sense of gross injustice was a notable precociousness. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929, King was not only gifted academically – he entered college two years early and graduated at the tender age of 19 – but he also possessed remarkable public speaking skills, winning several debating contests.

And then there was his unstinting faith. In 1954, aged just 25, he became pastor of a Baptist church in Montgomery, Alabama. His religious conviction was his backbone. Indeed, he himself believed that this faith both outscored and underpinned his grasp of social justice. "Before I was a civil rights leader," he would later declare, "I was a preacher of the Gospel. This was my first calling and it still remains my greatest commitment." For a man who was the symbol of such a crashing tidal wave of societal change, this is some admission.

the world's media.

# THE CALL TO BOYCOTT King kicks off the first mass meeting of the Montgomery

# HISTORY'S GREATEST LEADERS MARTIN LUTHER KING



King first became active in social protest in the early 1950s. He was particularly fired by the nonviolent teachings of Mahatma Gandhi (see MLK in India, below) and, in the mid-1950s shifted towards pacifism, having previously supported the use of guns for self-defence. King's first great campaign was the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This followed Rosa Parks' refusal, in late 1955, to give up her seat to a white passenger. King was the boycott's chief architect so, when the year-long campaign brought about a judicial ruling that outlawed segregation on the city's public transport, he became nationally recognised as one of the Civil Rights Movement's most high-profile leaders.

#### **CHRISTIAN COALITION**

In 1957, King and several other activists formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a loose coalition of black churches united to lobby and campaign for wholesale improvements in the realm of civil rights. As its leader, King was the most recognisable spokesman for the movement. While his profile irrefutably aided the cause, giving the more

liberal quarters of the country a figurehead with whom to identify, it also made King vulnerable. Not only was he a target for individuals (he was once stabbed at a book signing), he was also in the sights of the FBI who, in the early 1960s, kept a beady eye on him, whether by fair means or foul (see Living in Fear, overleaf).

The campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, which started four months before the March On Washington, was a major flashpoint. While at pains to ensure that anti-segregation protests in the city remained non-violent, King did call for the occupation of public areas. This prompted a heavy-handed reaction from Birmingham's particularly unsavoury Chief of Police, Eugene 'Bull' Connor. The Chief instructed his forces to set both water cannon and dogs on the protesters, many of whom were children.

Arrested and jailed, King wrote his famous 'Letter From Birmingham Jail' while incarcerated, in which he presented a sturdy defence of civil disobedience and an undeniable demolition of the illogical nature of certain laws. "We can never forget," he wrote, "that everything Hitler did in Germany was 'legal'."

Planning for the March On Washington began in late 1962 but, thanks to the subsequent brutal events of Birmingham – and many other cities across the Southern states – the mass protest in the capital the following August wasn't before time. Born out of frustration with the inertia of the White House when it came to change for black Americans (King described John F Kennedy's commitment to civil rights as "tokenism"), the march was



## **MLK IN INDIA**

Improvement Association in an

Alabama church, December 1955

#### The pastor's peaceful pilgrimage

When his plane landed in New Delhi on 10 February 1959, Martin Luther King was quick to announce to onlookers just how privileged he felt to tread Indian soil. "To other countries I may go as a tourist," he declared, "but to India I come as a pilgrim." The object of his devotion was undeniably Mahatma Gandhi, whom he described as "the guiding light of our technique of nonviolent social change".

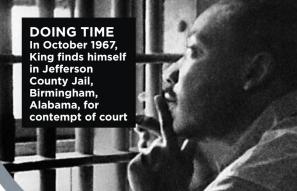
Taking place just 12 years after Indian independence from colonial rule – and 11 years after Gandhi's assassination – King's five-week tour was both spiritual and educational. Travelling with his wife, Coretta Scott King, and biographer Lawrence Reddick, he travelled extensively across the sub-continent, meeting everyone from national leaders, such as Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, to the humblest village officials. Everywhere King went, he observed, inquired and learned.

And everywhere he went, he was a figure of both fascination and awe as he addressed packed public meetings and university debates. It seemed the entire Indian populace was impressed by the success of the King-led Montgomery Bus Boycott three years earlier. The people were keen to hear how the non-violent methods that had dismantled colonial rule could be applied beyond its borders.

King, who first read Gandhi's writings as a graduate student, was unequivocal: "The Gandhian philosophy of non-violence is the only logical and moral approach to the solution of the race problem in the United



States." Without the teachings of Gandhi as inspiration (principles, in King's eyes, "As inescapable as the law of gravitation"), the civil rights struggle could, and likely would, have headed down a much more violent avenue.



## LIVING IN FEAR

Death threats, bombings and smear campaigns...

"You are a colossal fraud and an evil, vicious one at that." When Martin Luther King read these words in an anonymous letter sent to him in 1964, he might have dismissed them as those of a disaffected, lone crank. However, it was one in a series of letters written by FBI agents, who were seeking to discredit him by publicly revealing his extramarital affairs. This particular letter took a sinister tone, clearly suggesting King take his own life. "There is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do [it]."

Following the March On Washington in August 1963, the FBI ramped up its scrutiny of the man an internal memo labelled "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country". FBI Chief J Edgar Hoover was given approval – by the Attorney General, President Kennedy's brother Robert – to bug phones in King's office, home and hotel rooms, ostensibly to uncover alleged Communist sympathies. But all the tapes revealed was King's clandestine sexual encounters, which became the subject of the FBI's policy of smear and blackmail.

King was also targeted by various police departments. No stranger to the cell, he was arrested some 30 times while protesting. Often the punishment would grossly outweigh the 'crime'. Once, he received a four-month jail sentence for participating in a sit-in at an Atlanta restaurant.

The pacifist was subjected to several physical attacks, too. He was stabbed, almost-fatally, at a book signing in 1958, and stoned by white protesters on a march in Chicago in 1966. Unsurprisingly, the Ku Klux Klan plotted numerous assassinations – both his home in Alabama and a motel he was staying in were the sites of bombings.

viewed suspiciously by both the Oval Office and certain elements of white society. At one of the planning meetings the month before, Kennedy had talked of the "atmosphere of intimidation" that such a mass gathering would create. Similarly, on the eve of the march, King was interviewed on NBC by an interviewer who suggested that it would be "Impossible to bring 100,000 militant Negroes into Washington without incident and possibly riots".

#### **FEARING THE WORST**

It would seem the authorities shared the view that violence was inevitable. Local hospitals cancelled non-urgent operations and stocked up on blood supplies. Jails transferred prisoners to out-of-town facilities to free up cells. And 2,000 National Guardsmen, along with 3,000 additional soldiers, were drafted in to deal with the feared bloodbath.

But the bloodbath never came. In fact, there were just three arrests all day – and the detainees were all white. This was an extraordinary statistic for an extraordinary day, one where the number of attendees vastly overwhelmed expectations. They came from near and far, travelling night and day, by bus, train, car and plane. From New York City alone, came 450 specially chartered buses.

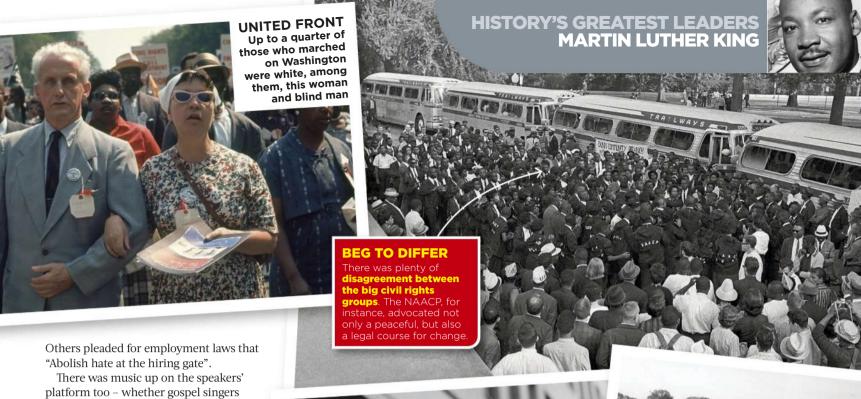
And they came in peace. They weren't the militants the media had filled their headlines with. They were non-violent black Americans voicing their concerns about social and economic conditions, and a significant proportion - possibly up to 25 per cent - were white Americans. They were united in their search and support for a more equal, more just United States. On this summer afternoon, Washington's sizzling sidewalks filled with song, more often than not the Civil Rights Movement's unofficial anthem We Shall Overcome. They marched in solidarity, their placards demanding change. They called for "Decent Housing Now!" or declared "We March For Integrated Schools".



\*\*\*\*\*\*\*



EXCESSIVE FORCE
May 1963: This photo from a protest in Birmingham, Alabama, sparked controversy



No time for Interview Pouring Information Prom All Over

platform too – whether gospel singers like Mahalia Jackson or young folk acts like Bob Dylan, Joan Baez or Peter, Paul and Mary. Alongside the speech-makers from the 'Big Six' civil rights groups who'd organised the event, there was also the odd unexpected contribution. The actor Burt Lancaster, for instance, praised

the crowd for "Helping us to redefine, in the middle of this dangerous century, what is meant by the American Revolution". As they listened, marchers cooled off by bathing their feet in the Reflecting Pool, the 618-metre-long water feature situated between the Lincoln Memorial and

the Washington Monument obelisk. Some 80,000 of these marchers would have refuelled themselves with the 50-cent packed lunches that had been provided.



The distance that activist Ledger Smith roller skated, from Chicago, Illinois, to reach the March On Washington. His journey took ten days.

SONG OF PEACE

TOP TO BOTTOM: The NAACP group from Wilmington, North Carolina, sing upon their arrival; Folk singer Joan Baez performs for the crowd; A boy sells papers to the march-goers

## **SELMA TO MONTGOMERY**

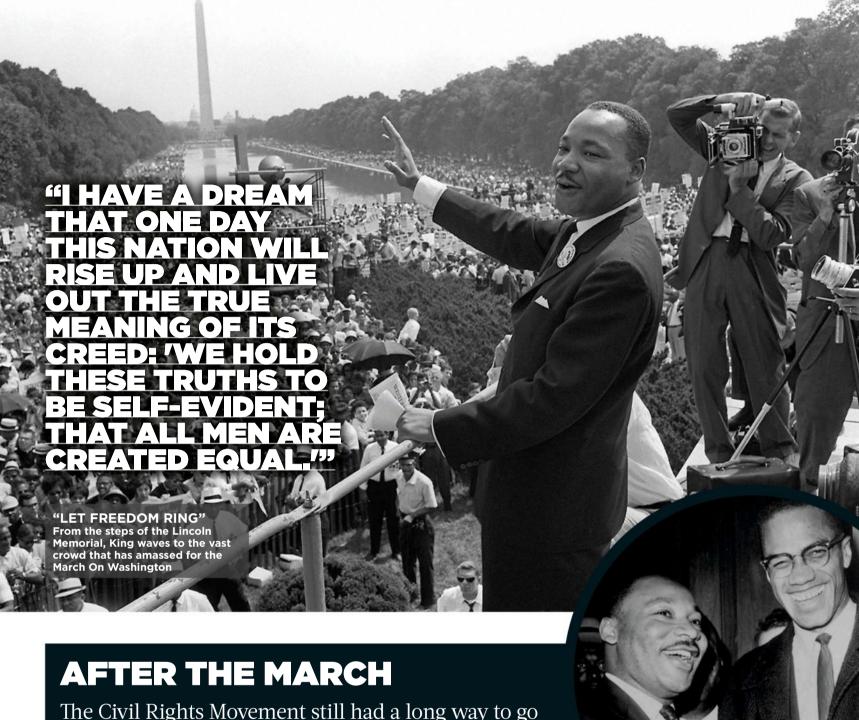
#### The real campaign behind the award-winning film

One of King's most potent campaigns was the five-day, 54-mile freedom march he led from the Alabama town of Selma to the state capital, Montgomery, in March 1965. The protest was a reaction to the death, at the hands of a State Trooper, of a local church deacon – Jimmie Lee Jackson – during a peaceful protest.

The first attempt to march was repelled by local law-enforcers, who attacked the marchers with batons and tear gas in a sour episode known as Bloody Sunday. A second attempted march was also prevented, before a federal order demanded that a third march be permitted to reach Montgomery unimpeded.

On arrival, a triumphant King took to the steps of the Alabama State Capitol building and, less than six months later, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act. On the eve of its 50th anniversary, the march became the subject of the multi-award-winning movie *Selma* (2014), directed by Ava DuVernay.





#### The Civil Rights Movement still had a long way to go

Despite its totemic place in the timeline of the Civil Rights Movement, the March On Washington didn't kick the door to progress wide open. While the symbolic impact of the day was undeniably strong, this didn't translate into the congressional support that President Kennedy needed for his (admittedly belated) civil rights legislation. It was only in the wake of Kennedy's assassination three months after the march that his successor, Lyndon Johnson, was able to persuade Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act as a memorial to the late President.

In 1964, Malcolm X - previously spokesman for the separatist Nation Of Islam - made conciliatory moves to become part of the Movement, offering support to any organisation that agreed to the principle of armed self-defence. He even had a cordial meeting with King - although the vehemently non-violent pastor refused to alter his stance.

Malcolm X's brand of black nationalism certainly gave the Movement more of an edge. As he famously declared, "It'll be ballots or it'll be bullets". Having moved towards a more placatory position (albeit one that still refused to embrace King's brand of non-violent civil disobedience), Malcolm X was gunned down in February 1965 by three Nation Of Islam members. "I think it is unfortunate for the black nationalist movement," said the integrationist King of the murder. "I think it is unfortunate for the health of our nation."

Malcolm X's death was far from the only example of violence in the years following the March On Washington. These times were pockmarked by attacks from the Ku Klux Klan on black Americans and white civil rights volunteers, the most notorious

King and his former critic, Malcolm X, smile for the camera in Washington on 26 March 1964

**JOINING FORCES** 

of which involved the murders of three activists in 1964, the basis for the film Mississippi Burning (1988).

After the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965 (see Selma to Montgomery, p111), the next target of injustice for the Civil Rights Movement was that of fair housing. It was a toxic subject, which was debated about and delayed for a lengthy period of time. It would only be after King's assassination, in 1968, that this legislation would finally be approved by Congress.

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Not everyone was in a favourable frame of mind, though. On the programme of speakers, women were very much underrepresented, while more militant voices were

denied a platform for being too outspoken.

The most forthright voice of dissent belonged to Malcolm X. He was the spokesman for the separatism-favouring Nation Of Islam, and he denounced the day's events as the "Farce On Washington". From a distance, he disapproved of what he saw as the co-option of the protest by both JFK's administration and white liberals. "It's just like when you have some coffee that's too black," he complained, "which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream. You make it weak. But if you pour too much cream in, you won't even know you ever had coffee."

Malcolm X also railed against the controlled nature of the event. "They told those Negroes when to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what sign to carry, what song to sing... And then told them to get out of town before sundown." He had a point; the marchers had been asked to vacate the capital by nightfall.

#### **MONUMENTAL DAY**

To whatever extent the federal government had imposed itself on the original vision for the day, the impact was felt strongly by middle America, thanks to round-the-hour live coverage provided by CBS and regular updates from other channels, such as NBC. Indeed, an NBC news special named the March as nothing short of "One of the most historic days in the nation's history". The power of non-violent protest - at least in symbolic terms couldn't be denied, while King's fluent, fluid rhetoric put the legislators on the back foot.

As King delivered his final "I have a dream..." refrain, Abraham Lincoln - or his marble likeness, at least – appeared to bestow approval on the pastor's words. Both applied principle to a fundamental fissure in a society founded on democracy and equality. Both forever changed the direction and shape of American society. And, most poignantly of all, both would ultimately succumb to the assassin's bullet. •

#### **GET HOOKED**



#### WATCH

Martin Luther King's 'I Have a Dream' speech – the leader's 17 minutes of extraordinarily poignant and powerful words at Washington can be watched online at bit.ly/1LFkVm0

The King Years: Historic Moments In The Civil Rights Movement (2013), by Taylor Branch – the Pulitzer Prize-winning author's fourth book on King – recounts the essential moments of the Civil Rights Movement.



staying just three motel rooms down from King on the fateful knew I must record it for



# THE DEATH OF A DREAM

After King's murder, his followers erupted in grief

Just two days before his assassination, Mahatma Gandhi had declared: "If I am to die by the bullet of a madman, I must die smiling." On the eve of his own death, King's words were as prophetic and defiant as those of his guru. "I've seen final public speech in Memphis, "[but] I may not get there with you." His flight to Tennessee that day had been delayed because of a bomb threat. "I'm so happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man.

In the early evening of the following day - 4 April 1968 - King stepped onto

exploded into riots, resulting in widespread damage and destruction - and the loss of a further 40 lives. President Lyndon Johnson acted swiftly to mobilise the National Guard, reasoning with the Mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, that "I'd rather the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1968

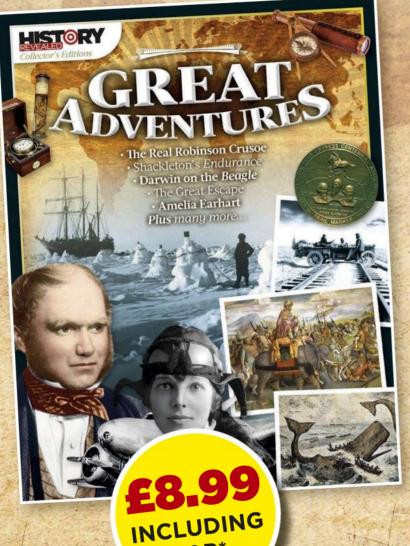
**EXPLOSIVE REACTION** 

Illinois, is targeted by rioters

in the wake of King's death

A business district in Chicago,

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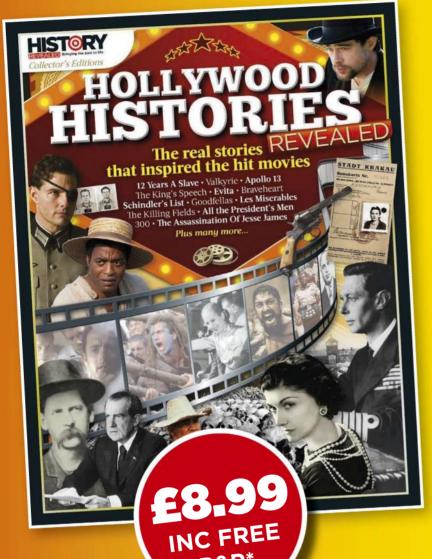
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"I am the punishment Genghis Khan

"I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king"

"Never give in, except to convictions of honour and good sense" Winston Churchil

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

"Only those prepared for jail-going and for receiving bullets should accompany me"



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